00085744

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016

THE LEBANON:

(Mount Souria.)

A HISTORY AND A DIARY.

85744

BY

DAVID URQUHART,

AUTHOR OF
"THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST," "THE PILLARS OF HERCULES,"
"TURKEY AND ITS RESOURCES," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
THOMAS CAUTLEY NEWBY,
30, WELBECK STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE.
1860.

[*The right of translation is reserved.*]

00085744

VOLUME II.

DIARY IN THE LEBANON.

CHAPTER I.

Page.

Maronite Convents 1

CHAPTER II.

The Caimacan of the Maronites . . . 23

CHAPTER III.

Tripoli 44

CHAPTER IV.

Various things, Religious and Secular . . 70

CHAPTER V.

The Children of Eden, and the Cedars of God . . 91

CHAPTER VI.

Rise of the Tiers Etat 113

CHAPTER VII.

The Patriarch 130

CHAPTER VIII.

The Provincial Parliament—An Impeachment — Public Lands 152

CHAPTER IX.

An Interlude—An Arab Theatre . . . 178

CHAPTER X.

Restoration of Ancient Harbours and Water Works . 190

Page

CHAPTER XI.

Antipathy to Punishment 217

CHAPTER XII.

A Civil War arranged by Sheik Saïd, but frustrated . 235

CHAPTER XIII.

Maronite connexion with France . . . 251

CHAPTER XIV.

The Shaab 271

CHAPTER XV.

A Druze 297

CHAPTER XVI.

Antiquity of the Sourians 323

CHAPTER XVII.

The System of Protection 341

CHAPTER XVIII.

Turkish Finances 362

CHAPTER XIX.

The Antediluvian World—Baalbeth . . . 369

CHAPTER XX.

An Emir Beshir 391

CHAPTER XXI.

Agony of Ten Years 403

CHAPTER XXII.

Christianity of the Lebanon . . . 433

CHAPTER XXIII.

Public Meeting 437

CATASTROPHE 445

DIARY IN THE LEBANON.

CHAPTER I.

MARONITE CONVENTS.

THE day having suddenly brightened, I had time to reach Emir Hydar's residence, and rejoiced to quit the den where I had been confined in darkness and smoke, though not sorry to have gone through it. I had begun to appreciate vividly the inconvenience of winter travelling in the Lebanon; but so soon as I had emerged into the open air, and looked around on the prospect, the sun glistening on the snowy crests, and on the green tops of the pines, and penetrating to the red earth from which they grew, or rather seemed to stretch themselves, I again forgot the toil and inconveniences, and applauded my resolution; for such fresh sweet air, such bright colours, no other season could produce.

We found the population scattered through the thin pine forests, gathering wood and digging out roots. I eyed them now with a haberdasher's eye, and scrutinized each Meintan and Jeleck, knowing the value of each piece of stuff. I found that I

had, as regards the women at least, underrated their costume; the groups were charming amid the mixture of green and red, furnished by the shade above and the soil beneath.

We ascended a flat ridge about the width of the esplanade leading to Edinburgh Castle, with the precipitous sides falling away to a depth of one or two thousand feet; the crests, sweeping round, formed amphitheatres which everywhere exhibited entire geological sections. Here and there were stairs of terraces, patches and levels of the picturesque pines, and in all directions, willows; on the cliffs, in the vales, or among the precipices. The volcanic matter I had hitherto observed only cropping out under the limestone, here it lay on the top of the limestone; the dividing line stretched, as the horizon itself, level and imperturbable for miles in every direction; being a stratum upset, which in the explosion had fallen back, and lay reversed, forming the highest parts. This line, dividing the brown or yellow crumbling mass from the hard cracked grey of the calcareous strata, was coarse; cut out into all the fantastic figures which the rocks and hills had assumed by the wearing of the water, and served to exhibit their sinuosities; there was a region of yellow, and a region of grey; and, as the eye descended from the one to the other, it had to readjust itself as if to a different focus. The lower part, not only by the colour, but also by its bold rocks and cliffs, might have been taken for

the place of a sea suddenly let out; which had left its wild and naked bed as a contrast to the clothed, soft, and purple earth; or as if two kinds of glasses were employed to let in the rays of the sun. Again might it suggest the contrast of winter and summer; the grey rocks being the glaciers.

In the bend of the amphitheatre which opened to the right, and on the sandstone part, stood a large and scattered village. The houses were of rich yellow; arcades and verandahs predominated in the architecture; it looked like a toy, so pretty and so strange was it. Our road now lay to the left, but I could not be so soon done with this place, so I determined to visit the village of Sourïe; as the convent of Mir Hanna lay in the vale below, on the side of the hill I was upon, I turned back to commence with it. The land cast about its awkward, wry splitting blocks, as if in rivalry of the stately mathematical figures of the limestone. However, by the aid of a stair, rather than a road, in short zigzags, we did get down, helped along by the torrent from the recent rains, which, like ourselves, found this passage the easiest; I need not say, recent rains, for we were at the moment under a heavy fall; and the clouds had closed in and descended so that we could not see fifty yards. As soon as we got on the limestone, and that was a little above the convent, I saw, rendered more gigantic through the mist, a sarcophagus on a basement of rock, in the middle of a vineyard. The top lay

under it unbroken, as if just heaved off. This top was very pointed; and when complete, it could not have stood less than nine feet in height, by as many in length, and five in width. Under it, and at its foot, was another last resting place, hollowed in the rock, from which the lid had been removed. These sarcophagi, scattered all over the country, bear no lines or tracings of any kind, nor are any cotemporaneous chisellings to be found; it was, therefore, with great satisfaction that I observed close by, set up in the vineyard wall, a mass of carved stone, evidently of a similar character and age: it was five feet broad, and standing seven feet out of the ground; so it could not be less than ten long: it had two longitudinal hollows, but what its purpose was, I could not devise.

The monastery is well built, with some show of ornament, in the mixture of the stones from the two regions, on the confines of which it is placed: the windows and doors were red; the walls of yellow sandstone, which appeared quite as durable as the limestone. Inside there were low, dark arched corridors; the windows shewed little glass, and were barricaded against the weather with boards and clothes; I should have called it mean and uncomfortable had not the experience of the last few days taught me the value, on any terms, of openings, glazed or not. The Abbot was ill in bed; but his place was filled by a far more intelligent person, of engaging manners and easy conversation. The rest

of the fraternity were kind, lively, and much rejoiced at this interruption of the monotony of their life: further than this I have nothing to say; as there was not a shadow of any kind of instruction, and no trace of any peculiar character, habits, or costume. They had not however derogated in manners, which prevented their good-nature and kindness from degenerating into vulgarity. I was shewn everything in the monastery by its whole inhabitants; the church, which was only 120 years old; a chapel, of date unknown, but with no signs of antiquity; a cellar, where the jars stood together like the amphoræ of old; a printing office, a subject of great pride and little profit; a refectory, where human bones were suspended over tables which bore no one's flesh; the old Abbot in his bed, for whom I prescribed, much to his satisfaction and little to my own; and finally, the chamber prepared for my reception, where I was told I was to stay a month, as they would pray for rain every day during that time. This was fasting time, and I had asked to be permitted to share their refectory meal; they decided otherwise; and a very well garnished tray was brought to my apartment, where the whole of the brotherhood assembled to see how I liked it. By this time we had become fast friends, and the arrack with the seed of the pine to dispel its taste, was put in circulation; though but slenderly partaken of by the fathers. It was with difficulty the supper was introduced, for every square foot of the floor had its occupant; and I had to un-

dergo the critical inspection of the whole community in disposing of bourgoul with marcook, and fowl with nature's knife and fork. This manner of eating was commented on, as a sign of very great humility. This time however I was dispensed from having to reply; for the Abbot's deputy rebuked the speaker for inferring that any one should be humble by reason of eating in the same manner as Abraham and Moses. They next treated me to a song, which was no other than a psalm sung in Greek, the words beginning Επαίνετε τὸν Θέον; and sung in the Greek style by all the lungs, with a bursting neck and a red face: the whole party joined in the chorusses. It was short, and only carried me through two of the four dishes before me; they then hoped they did not disturb me, when I thought that they need not have asked the question. After a very amusing evening, I retired to rest; and made up for three sleepless nights, to awaken to a sunrise that denied the prayer of the monks, and invited me forth to walk the world again, beginning with the beautiful village of Sourie.

But before I proceed, I have something to say of this monastery. I had just entered the Maronite country; a race which has a distinct existence, solely by reason of its belief, and whose belief is nevertheless the common one of the Catholic world. This was the first monastery I had been in; it was also, as I was told, the largest and most ancient. I had to look in these institutions for the source of

this life, and I found this one, politically and religiously, a nullity. As I approached, it had occurred to me that these institutions offered the means which I was casting about to find, to invigorate the domestic industry of the people, or rather to arrest the decay of even so much as they still possess. The subject introduced itself, by one of the brothers bringing in a sock which he was knitting, and in a manner which I had not before seen; he used fine brass knitting needles, each made into a crotchet at one end, and he took the loop off the other needle with the crotchet, as we do off the finger. He worked expeditiously, and said he had begun the pair that morning, and expected to finish them by to-morrow night. This is now all they make at home; their black caps, till recently, were knitted in like manner, and dyed by themselves; now they buy Turkish caps, and put them on a mould to give them the shape, and dye them. On inquiring the reason of this change, the acting Abbot answered "*idleness.*" The whole subject was now opened; they said that formerly they used to have wool and cotton brought by the peasantry, and made their own clothes. Now these are not brought, and consequently they had to dress in the American cotton dyed blue, like the peasantry. I was able to tell them that the peasantry would now be very glad to bring cotton and wool, but that *they* (the monks) preferred piastres. Again it was confessed that the cause of the change was "*idleness.*" They then complained of the great

poverty of the people, and their further impoverishment by their buying everything from America and England; to which countries they sent nothing in return. I, on the other hand, explained their poverty by their idleness; and suggested for them the field of useful enterprize, to which I have above referred. They all acknowledged the evil, but the idea of meeting it had not arisen in one of their minds, nor could be made to enter. They were dead flounders, and could only float with the stream; nevertheless, the chief spoke with great energy on the subject, and gave utterance to gloomy forebodings. He had seen the condition of the people gradually sinking for twenty years, and now, with nothing to fear from chiefs, and no oppressions to complain of from government, he saw them becoming poorer and poorer, idler and more idle; yet with all this, he could not face the idea of doing anything to stop it, and could only suggest, *filling up the ports of Beyrout and Saïda.* "When we had no trade," he said, "we were rich; now we have much trade and are poor." I told him that what he desired for the Lebanon, I desired for England; that she too, when she had no commerce, was well clothed and well fed, and that the coming in of their gold was to her a much greater loss, than the going forth of it was to them.

Several times the personages at Beyrout, now raised from Consuls to Ambassadors, (Elchi) were introduced. I had succeeded in stopping such conversation, or in giving to it the go-bye. It was only

the following morning that they gained their wish; which I let them have, by asking them what made them so anxious about the Consuls, and what they expected or feared from them. The answer was, "We owe to the Consuls our not paying charatch, nor duties on the articles of our own consumption; and in all litigations we have the benefit of the presence of the dragoman of the French Consul." When I put it to them, that this regarded a former state, when the French alone protected the Catholic priesthood, and that their freedom from charatch was a concession of their sovereign; to which they agreed; they then said, that when they now went to the French Consul, and the Druze to the English, and the Greek to the Russian, it was no benefit to any; but quite the contrary. They then asked if the Turkish Consuls did not protect the Mussulmans in India!

They consider themselves in great intercourse with the world, and spoke of the number of Europeans they saw. The numbers were soon reduced to two Englishmen, and an English Houri. I was carrying on this conversation in broken Arabic, so I imagined that Miss Martineau must have passed this way, and that their intuitive sagacity, knowing "how to observe," had discovered the sort of compliment that would be most gratifying to that lady. Proceeding then to inquire how long she had stayed with them, and what she had spoken to them about, I found I had fallen into the mistake of sweet Ann

Page's lover, and that the Houri was not of the feminine gender. This name, which Mahomed is made to give to the attractions of his paradise, the Christian Arabs apply to those who shew the way to ours; and what I had taken for an accomplished lady, turned out to be a blooming Prebendary.

Dec. 20th.—As it was little out of my road, I determined to take the village of Sourie, which had so fascinated me, on my way. The distance was but a mile, but it took me four hours to traverse it. I have spoken of this scenery putting a pencil in the hands of every tyro limner, and exemplified my words; finding words unavailing, and the pen devoid of form and colour, I took to sketching; now seeking to catch, so to say, an architectural detail of the stones, there the historic groupings of the mountains. The pillars of rock and the façades of precipice were interspersed or screened with festoons of vines trained up the walls, and carried from the one to the other; such columns stood sometimes 40 feet high, and the unbroken fronts, now and then, ranged for hundreds of yards. I was winding my way along the watercourse, and the promontories of squared block ran down from side to side, one into the other, forming a series of triangles; on the opposite side some peasants were scrambling in the same direction, and looked absurdly theatrical; especially by the path being always hidden, so that you could not see how they got along; the difference is, that what would be most theatrical in our stage costume, and most

stage like in our scenic painting, is less so than the costume of the people or the forms of nature. It was endless and ever new; you were stopped at every turn, and the pencil invited forth; here you have ready made a study book of rock, and an album of ledges. I looked for these, as a sportsman for game; like quails they started under my feet. After closing my sketch-book, I turned round to proceed, and found a monk standing close to me, who had been looking over my shoulder. He was a magnificent figure, with a grave and benignant countenance, bearing, but not yet bent by, the burden of years, with a long beard, partly silvered, not frosted with age: nothing could be more unlike the community I had left, but to which he belonged. He saluted me, and seeing some sign of surprise in my manner, he extended over me both his arms, and raising his eyes to heaven, seemed at once to invoke on me a blessing, and to convey to me the knowledge of what the gesture meant. I had already moved forward before I apprehended him; and this dumb interchange of a second, sent me away reproaching myself with having perchance too lightly judged of the monastery I had quitted, yet gratified by the thought that these cells might enclose devout breasts, meekly bending before their Maker, benevolently regarding their fellow men; and I recollected the words which the night before I had listened to as of form, "We daily pray for all men; to-morrow morning we shall pray for you."

The hell of the Sagas is Hecla and ice: the converse must be the exchange, or the mean, of these extremes. An earthly paradise must be the charms of each season; but the charm can be tasted only by the privation. In testing, then, the merit of the seasons, there must be a flavour at least of their ascerbity; a chill of cold and a flush of heat; a blaze of sunshine aud a blast of storm. Now all this I had; and in the alternations, to which I was exposed, of temperature and of dwelling, I began to suspect that some profound philosophy lurked at the bottom of the eyeless reeky hovels. Who could have devised a happier process for sharpening all the appetites for draughts of day and beauty? Yes; the winter is the time for the Lebanon; and I say so with some right to be heard. I have watched, and found, and compared, and concluded, and can tell over the things you would have, and those you would lose. I shall enumerate some. Here, the earth and the rocks are the chief objects, by the beauty of their tints; in summer, these would be concealed by an impenetrable matting of verdure. In summer, you would have no carpeting of emerald sward on the level spots, and under the tall stalks of the pine, diffusing freshness. In summer, you would have no waterfalls glistening on the hill sides or murmuring in the valley. In summer, no smoke would ascend from the villages—smoke, waving like a pennon, rising like a column, or spreading like an opal veil. In

summer, there would not be the vigour of the limb or the freshness of the spirit; and besides, in summer, we never think of what the effect in winter would be. In winter, we are always drawing the contrast with summer, and causing, in the hot-house of the imagination, plants to bloom and fruits to ripen. At all events, this is the season, and this is the spot; for the artist who seeks to master the rainbow part of art; this is the placid time for the lover of nature, that is, of solitude. And this points to my only want—a friend. Had I had a companion, these lines might not have been written: thought would not have waited the dull record of the unimpassioned memory, or intruded thus on the hours of exhaustion and repose.

After this long, well stocked journey, of a mile, I found myself passing under the village of Sourie, and saw ranges of arcades, through ranges of clothes, hung out to dry; it seemed as if it were washing day, or as if the village had turned out yesterday to get washed in the rain, and were now drying themselves. Groups were basking on the terraces, and children playing in the fields or mulberry grounds; as we worked our way through the zigzag, and up the stairs which compose the road, and down which rushed a torrent, these urchins, leaving their gambols, came and sat and looked down on us, uttering, to the smallest creature among them, his salutation: the drawl of the Metuali, became the Greek enclytic; the sūble haïr became

sŭbble haïr. These children were charming, with their ruddy cheeks and sparkling eyes: they are the first which attracted my attention; they were also well clothed, and, what is more, clean, even when ragged. How Rubens, or rather Titian, or still more, Murillo, would have rejoiced in these groups; not in the figure alone, but in the fragments of dress; in the tints of pure colours; in that form which, to distinguish from our own, we call costume. Nor was it form, colour, and costume alone, but also demeanour, attitude, intuition, and all those discriminatory lines which enhance the effect to the common observer, but are read only by the eye of art. The water in the lanes had set the larger children on pattens, and made the smaller ones tuck up their ample trousers above the knee, so that their delicate limbs appeared with the bright flesh shining in its cleanliness, and they thronged and thronged upon you like chickens in a barn yard. As I was passing the gate of an outer wall, I saw, against the corner of a house, a little girl, not more than four, with another half her size on her back; yet she had her foot up on the edge of a small stone trough, and another little creature, as diminutive as herself, was washing it; another was holding up the clothes of the one so employed, that she might not get wet, and two more were watching the operation. I could not say that I sighed with philosophic forecast that they should e'er grow older; but I took into my mind the little picture, the most

enchanting I ever beheld, to keep it there unchanged and framed, with as much care as if it were an acknowledged masterpiece, of which the virtuoso could recount each figure, describe each line, and tell each colour. I stood for two minutes before them, but they were so intent on their work as not to observe me, and I passed along, as in a gallery, to another group.

The village equalled the promise it gave from a distance. The arcades, and windows divided by columns, were Saracenic; the masonry surpassed everything I had seen; in the belfry of the church the yellow and white stones were beautifully managed, and I at once resolved, if I could obtain a hospitable roof and a friendly reception, to stay here for the night; so ascending to the roof of a house to enjoy the view, I sent down into the house to make the necessary inquiry. A message came up from the master to say that he already had known me at Gebel Rehan, and invited me to be his guest.

I at once proceeded to inspect the village, and entered about a dozen houses; through every door was to be seen a turbaned senior or a blooming girl, sitting in a hole, foot on traddle, flying shuttle in hand; or the spinning wheel was buzzing, or the silk reel sweeping round. Each was pleased to stop and exhibit his work. I passed the public oven; the vase-like hole with fire at the bottom, round the sides of which the marcooks are clapped for a minute or two; this I have already described,

but here I first saw the operation. The place was just large enough to hold five or six women, who were squatted at their work; the dough is carried to the oven ready worked, which takes an hour, the merit of the cake depending on its long and severe manipulation; here the dough is reduced to the necessary thinness, this is effected not by a roller but by singular dexterity of hand, combined with the extreme tenacity the dough has acquired by the previous kneading. The lump is first flattened on a stone by the hand, then taken up and danced between the hands, thrown over each alternately; the edge being shifted round and round, it thus flies out, and when sufficiently stretched is let fall on a circular cushion of cloth, and so dabbed on the side of the hot vessel; a few seconds suffice for the operation, and as much for the firing. I told the women that their work and their cakes would give any one an appetite though he had eaten three dinners; on which each hand of the party was stretched out with a specimen of its craft. They excelled any I ever tasted; they were either soft or crisp, when the latter they had the flavour of wafers.

If cakes have been lost to England and their place occupied by baker's bread, giving us an unwholesome food at a dead loss of £10,000,000 a year, it is because taste in cookery being gone, cooks were not kept to their work. Discovering the cakes, through insufficient kneading, to be bad, the European pro-

cess is resorted to (as with the Regent's Quadrant) of destroying instead of rectifying.

I profited by the interval of time before supper to visit a convent under the guidance of a little boy.

This yellow or red rock crowning the summits, is not after all the sandstone which lies under the calcareous range, but a strange concretion of crystalline and organic matter; it is siliceous and calcareous; there is gneiss and oolite. I have mentioned the coarse, large, oolite shale, found under the calcareous range; this oolite is above it. The mass is yellow, but where the oolite appears it generally varies in colour, and is a bluish grey, which mingles in the same block with yellow; when yellow, it is of a purer and brighter tint than the mass of the rock; it ranges to lilac, purple, red, and is even greenish. The carbonate of lime filling the moulds of shells is tinted with the predominating colour. I extracted a small belemnite; the transverse fracture was of the colour of garnet.

I had got but a little way when clouds came rolling over the heights from the south; or, as they say here, from "the right." So I hastened on my way. We scrambled through banks of small oak, and up and down cliffs of yellow earth and clay, intermingled with huge blocks; at one spot there was a square reservoir on the very edge of the precipice; the path was on its wall, the water issued from a corner in the rock, and a mass, which must have weighed a thousand tons, was stayed in its place

above it by masonry. We could see only a few yards around us; but the mist did not screen from sight the delicate crocus (zafron) under our feet, the fantastic sweet lemon, which, with its flower-like leaves of green embroidery turned up with purple, ornamented the stones and rocks. The rhododendron was still in bloom, and the myrtle bore its white feathery blossoms.

The convent of Mar Elias was in the hands of masons; it was being rebuilt. At the end of each corridor there was a Saracenic window, with a divan for carpets; the building was substantial and excellent. On inquiring whence the wealth came, I was told that their mulberries had been very productive. The monks were at vespers; I looked into the church and saw, hanging all round, cotton bags, like pillow cases, containing the seed of the cocoons. As they built the monastery they deserved a place in the church. I was departing when the brotherhood came forth; various attempts were made to detain me, one was singular: an old monk brought a bottle and applied it to my nose. The name they gave to their chief was Reis-el-Amma, which came so near to the Spanish El Amo, that I could not resist. Had he not addressed me in Italian I should still have known that he had learnt a Frank tongue by his coarseness and vulgarity. He was the counterpart of my own interpreter, only fonder of arrack, which he brought out, and on which he would have made friends with me with all his heart.

If the stones were superior to Mar Hanna, how inferior the inhabitants. This sight justified my anticipations of what this people would become if once they lost the restraint of Eastern ceremony. One man had done this for Mar Elias. One instrument out of tune will spoil an orchestra and destroy a masterpiece.

I found on my return about a dozen of the principal inhabitants waiting. A tray was brought in, and while I had my supper the conversation began; they reminded me of the Greeks and Bulgarians of Roumelia before they were corrupted. My host was a man of substance, but his three sons performed the service; the youngest five and the oldest ten years old. This place is called "Am senaat"—mother of art. The stone masons are the most celebrated in Syria; of which they pretend it must formerly have been the capital, as bearing its name (Sourie). They are sent for to Beyrout, Acre, Aleppo, and Damascus; they built Ibtedeen. There are also workers in iron, which is smelted near Antoura.

They thoroughly understood the Messaa. My host thought Emin Effendi would succeed, if he had the intention to do so; they had suspicions from his breaking off so soon; he should not have minded the weather in an undertaking like this. They complained bitterly of Mustafa Pasha, who had come with 70 horsemen, staid two days, and left 900 piastres of expenses for them to pay. This would

formerly have been submitted to in silence; now it is a grievance, and they appealed to me to see them righted. When I told them that I was a stranger, who neither would nor could interfere, they did not comprehend. My quality of stranger conveyed to them exactly the reverse.

They pay 8000 piastres; 4500 for charatch at 10 piastres per head, the rest for their few mulberry grounds and vineyards; mulberries, to produce an oke of silk, here about 60, are charged four or five piastres; they pay besides two paras the piastre (5 per cent.) for collection to the agents of the Caimacan; also the charges for the horsemen sent for it. The idea was not new to them of collecting it gratis by municipal officers. I pointed out to them that, if at the assembly at Beyrout they had made this proposal, it had now been the rule as their other proposals had become. The saving of 5 to 10 per cent. was nothing compared to preventing the creation of a body of middle men and agents of government, and the erecting in lieu some sort of municipal government of their own; this was the great deficiency of the country, and had become a necessity since the chiefs had fallen. The answer was an entreaty that I should write and speak for them. I reproved the thanklessness of speaking in such a strain, after acknowledging what had been done in their favour, and at their request, by their own government, after admitting that their Sultan sent incorruptible men, as well as judicious

orders, and after admitting the insufficiency of their endeavours to aid him in securing well being for themselves. It was all true, but they would not be the first to propose anything; I must speak for them, and they would bear testimony when called on. Notwithstanding all that was here painful, this was the first place where I have been spared "General Rose" and "General Wood;" the forms under which the Consuls at Beyrout and Damascus are known.

After domestic matters had been discussed, they inquired respecting the Hungarian business. I was taken quite by surprise; the question was natural from Mussulmans, but I was puzzled to hear in what sense it was put by these Christian rayas. I soon found that they differed not from the Mussulmans. I put the case to them in all its gravity; two great powers threatening Turkey with war if she did not surrender some fugitives and outlaws, and asked them what answer they thought the Sultan had to give. They said, "Whatever the Sultan answered will be right." I insisted to have their own judgment, whether or not he and they, his subjects, should go to war on account of these strangers. They said that being strangers, they could not be given up, and that any peasant would do his best to protect a stranger against his own government, not to say a foreign one. I then told them the Sultan's answer; which they took with satisfaction, but without any excitement.

One observing that the Sultan's was a good government, another that no people got through so easily, and a third that if these refugees had to make their escape out of Europe, and to come to Turkey, it was better to be here than there. On my intimating that I wished to write a little, the whole party rose, and were gone in the twinkling of an eye. My host returned to say that before I took my departure in the morning, they wished to have some conversation about the collection of the miri and charatch. I then sat down on my bed to my notes. This has been a delightful day, finishing with a prospect of a quiet night, for the fleas have disappeared as by magic; they have vanished like the hordes of Xerxes, not one can now be found for love or money, even if wanted for the British Museum. This too is an advantage of winter, to say nothing of flies and mosquitoes.

CHAPTER II.

THE CAIMACAN OF THE MARONITES.

December 21*st.*—As the morning first penetrated the crevices of the apartment, I opened a small window two feet by three: the day was breaking exactly opposite. In front was a dark level bank, below it the valley grey as it seemed with hoar frost: on the top of the bank were lines of pine, the tall stalks scarcely visible, the dark tufts fretting the dawn. The morning star was amongst them, the heavens pure and cloudless, the air still, the village asleep. The star slowly ascended through the air, growing pale as it rose; the air was becoming like a star, and then the dark bank revealed rich brown, mottled and mixed; at first indistinctly seen, then more clear, beautifying as it changed: the green of the pine and the sward came out on its sides: as you watched, it waned, you wished each tint to stay, yet rejoiced to see it change. It was a bank only, no cliffs, no summits, no groups; a plain field where colour was spread for light to play upon. My eye ranged over no space: confined by the small window back from which I sat, it was a master-piece in a frame, going through the scale of tints of its own accord; soft as that fabled music

too exquisite to be heard, and listened to without the ear. Forms then entered on the stage: a small pyramid of rock became visible in the foreground, on which were habitations, descriable by their level lines, and whitewashed doors. The hoar frost in the valley turned out to be smoke, which with its vapoury web, concealed yet revealed, the ground below; two thrifty furnaces sent it forth; it rose to fall again, as water from the rock; then, as water spreading to its level, it filled the chasm; at first I could not tell whether it was the reflection of its glassy surface, or the transparency of its airy nature, that gave forth the image of other objects than itself. Now, spot by spot became distinct, as if a lens before each were being adjusted to its focus. The brown mantle, as if cast over an under-coating of gold, seemed to glow with inward light. The stalk of the pine, the shadow of its heavy head, the green of its ostrich-like plumes, came forth from the yellow and brown: the seared leaf of the oak, the figure of the stone, were distinct as day in the whispering light, and by the docile and transmitting air. Then the sky was covered with thin streaks of clouds; which were grey and sober, as if fearful to disturb the performance of that hill on the instrument specially its own. A change came over the valley. The two falls of smoke rose up as columns. The neighbouring cottages resumed their toil, and one by one sent also forth its signal. While watching them, the brown hill had disappeared as a dream;

and the sun broke in through the copse where a little while ago the quiet star had been; and, bearing for a moment the heads of a dozen cedars on his disc, as the blazon of Lebanon on a shield, he rose all up into his heavens, dispelling and overpowering by his presence the beauty which had been evoked by his approach.

At this moment, that is after the lapse of the few minutes taken to write these lines, I see from my little window (from which I am driven by the sun) nothing but an unmeaning hill, a valley filled with mist and an unenlivened sky. Beauty is to be caught before the sun is up, and this the people know. The first prayer of the Mussulmans is at the first light. Then is the hour of tranquil enjoyment. With the sun they resume the course of life. If anything is to be represented as delicious, it is compared to the morning cup of coffee, or the morning pipe: if a man is to be signalized for indecorum, he is represented as one who would disturb you in your morning kef.

So by my "sabba keffisi" I reckoned back the days, which were "the mornings and the evenings," by the rising and setting of the sun. We attach the idea of extreme rapidity to these changes in these climes: at this season these exquisite moments are doubled, and the twilight hours are so adapted in duration, that you remain at their close with that contentment which the body experiences after a repast which has sufficed. You can say, "I

have eaten," and yet know that when the proper time comes round again, you will be ready for your share. These mornings have been of old, and this land may not entirely owe its title of "land of the morning," to its being illuminated at an earlier hour.

Finding I could go by the monastery I had visited yesterday to Bekfaya, and that the distance was only four or five hours, I sent the horses round, and resumed the road by the broken steps up the cliffs that overhang Sourie. Mar Elias overlooks the sea at a distance of some ten miles, and is a point of survey for the country. I did not now visit the Maronite convent, but a Greek one close by. I found a decrepid monk, some dirty lads, and a serving man or two, all squalid and forbidding. Here too the grain of the silkworm was suspended in the church. This hill is a spur projecting south-west towards the sea, occupying at the back a third of the horizon. The remainder of the circle sweeps round from Beyrout, which you see on a point running out into the sea, on the extreme left to Mount Sonin.

The sea spreads over another third of the horizon, and then the rocks cut it as they arise in disorder. The shore is visible at the point of Beyrout, about twenty miles distant; and then again at the nearest point of the coast for a short interval; each wave may be distinctly seen as it surges on the land. Carrying the eye thence straight across the picture, you strike the summit of Sonin, both being equally

distant from the point at which I stood; the one as high above me as the other was below. Sonin is estimated at 9000 feet. From the centre of its long back, and just under the line of snow, the side was broken in by a watercourse, which could be traced by zigzags in a straight line downwards, till, sinking into a profound chasm, it swept by the hill or mountain on which I stood, though hidden from view. Beyond, lie the rocks of Kesroan, touching the shore, rising as they reach inward, and also as they recede from view. I could distinguish twenty-two villages. First, under the snows of Sonin, and at the sources of the Jinaizin, the winter streamlet, which has rough hewed these mountains and fashioned their vales, is placed Bes Kinta, of 500 dwellings. Two hours to the north, on the same level, at another break in the side of the mountain, is Fakra: this place I was anxious to see for its reputed beauty, its ruins, and natural bridge. The village was, indeed, not visible, but they pointed out to me the Erd Fakra, "land of Fakra." Following down the waste of soilless rock, there were scattered along a precipitous bank, overlooking the chasm and reaching to nearly opposite the point on which I stood, a succession of clustered hamlets, under the names of Alcaban, Farakel, Magraa, Zabouga, altogether numbering about 1000 dwellings. Their rectangular forms, with the terraced fields and vineyards, give an architectural aspect

to the cliff, and make it a sort of Isola Boromeo, swelled into gigantic proportions.

Further to the west, and dipping to the gully or the shore, sometimes on knolls, sometimes in vales, are, Roumia, Ajeltun, Rayfoun, Doreen, Absumar, Dar, El Bsara, Belluni, El Wisé, Maria, Sarras, Mariasfil, Birge. On the shore, the place of Sok Michael was pointed out; the view of the coast is then interrupted by a projection of the mountain. On this side, the valley makes a sweep round, advancing its brown, ruddy, and pine-shaded sides, five or six miles. Here is Bekfaya (to which I was bound), with other villages nearer and further; Mtacté, Bechabel, Kishof, Marumtoni, being rather a continuation of habitations than villages, and amounting to a couple of thousand fires. On the other side, Suria and its villages were hidden by the masses at my back, of crumbling earth, warm glowing rock, and stately cedars, that divide the landscape into two parts; one of symmetry and culture, the other of barrenness and disorder.

This symmetry is of culture only. It comes from the reproduction, a hundred or a thousand fold, like the ripple of the wave disturbed by a stone, of the sinuosities by the terraceing; the shadows of numberless walls fill up every outline. The hill behind, deluged by the rains, had the appearance of an outpouring of lava; and the same effect was produced wherever there was a bulging out, as the billowing

and descending terraces had the appearance of a spreading and a tumbling wave.

I must speak, too, of the pines, the chief natural embellishment. They are the nearest approach to the emblem of Judea—the palm. The stalk is equally fine and lofty, the head is more bushy, and when in groups forms much more of a canopy. The palms rejoice in lowly plains, where it is unrelieved and ungrouped; they garnish no crests, climb no precipices, crown no knolls. The pine, contrasting its deep green with the brown and yellow, the grey, the black and white, of the washed earth, the rugged cliff, or the snow-crowned mountain, now stands on a summit as a fringe, nestles in a valley as a grove, and now hangs as a cluster on a bank; or, when covering both the crest and the side, seems like a flock of heavy birds nearing a mountain in their flight.

At length I took leave of this charming spot, and descended into the valley which separates it on the south-west from the prolongation of the hill on which Bekfaya is placed; and about sunset, after traversing a continuous village of houses surrounded and divided by orchards, terraces, and vineyards, reached the seraï of the Caimacan of the Maronites. On the way there was stone-cutting, quarrying, lime mixing in abundance; building was all the rage, and the Emir was in stone and mortar. The seraï stands, but is not finished. It is a massive square of two lofty stories; there are mean

European windows and grand Saracenic vaults, fitted on to the projecting basement of the Egyptians. The road passed in through it, also out, but at the other side; it could be reached only by a long ladder. The Emir was at prayers, I heard the chant as I passed, but I was shewn into a chamber already prepared; and here, too, was a jumble. A Turkish divan in a European room, that is, a room of no form at all; French sashes to Moresque windows; Manchester goods quarrelling with Mosaic flooring, and gaudy wall painting with marble slabs. The people, who soon filled the apartment, had, however, no admixture, but were all Oriental.

The Emir soon after sent to say that he was old, that it was cold, he consumptive and could not come out that night. The husband of his only daughter, a fine lad, his grand-nephew, and three relatives, came in, with reiterations of the courtesies of which the above was the substance. No light task was it to furnish replies to the epigrammatic varieties of phrase for the same sense, which they produced. The ball was always caught and returned; with the Druzes I had, with the exception of Sheik Hassan Talhouk, to be at *les frais de la conversation:* here I had only to make those of reply.

These were Emirs, and yet Christians! there was Emir Hydar, and Emir Halil, and Emir Machmoud, and they were Christians. There was an

old man, with long white beard and turban, the very essence of a Mussulman, and this was a Christian. I felt an emotion of pride to think that the followers of Mahomet had not altogether gathered in the inheritance of Abraham. Here were Christians in possession of every form, ceremony, circumstance and device, which to our eyes stamps the Mussulman. And the Mussulmans are abandoning these things to become like unto Christians! while again the Christians of Europe are turning admiring eyes upon, and imitating, what the Turks, to imitate them, are giving up. Such was the subject matter of our conversation, if I suggested the theme they furnished the conclusions.

December 22nd.—The sun was out of humour this morning, his rise was a failure; but he was only reserving himself for the day. Receiving from the Emir the message that he intended after matins to visit me, I went out to walk in the meantime, but imperceptibly the distance between me and the serai was increased, till I suddenly discovered, by looking at the sun, that six hours had elapsed since I left it; I toiled and panted up the steeps and stairs, laden with specimens. Then did I find how well guarded is the Lebanon. Had the Highlands been thus girded and mailed for war, perhaps our chiefs might have kept their honour, and our clans their chiefs. Had this been so, then too might the Lebanon have been to-day secure and tranquil; England could never have become a robber state

abroad, until power was centralized at home; and England herself restrained by law, would have restrained others.

The words "culture" and "fortification" are synonymous, for to cultivate you must entrench. When you have walled and ditched, you may plant or sow. The roads are staircases, and may be barricaded form level to level by the inhabitants of each spot in a day. No cavalry can act; there is nothing against which artillery can be brought; and the best disciplined army would be reduced in point of science to the level of the defenders. It ceases now to be a wonder to me that so slender a population should have so long held their own; the marvel is how they could have been reduced; nothing could have lost them save division. What they are yet capable of, when resolved, is exemplified in the stand of the Druzes of the Ledja; there against two thousand peasants Mehemet Ali had to employ twenty thousand regular troops; and only succeeded by the military eye of an old general of Napoleon, who abandoned active operations, and succeeded only by time, numbers, treachery, and blockade.

When I use the word "division," it is not to escape from thought by means of a word. I imply by division "error:" men are only divided when they err, and all err when there is division. It is not the special errors of individuals, which they have the merit of inventing for themselves, but a gradual growth of perversion, to which all are subject, and of which all are unconscious. From which there is

no escape, but to the desert. There man retiring out of his age and into himself, diving back into childhood, when nearest to his Maker, may find again that standard of right and wrong, by which to regulate within and estimate without, thought, word, and act.

The country, or rather the rocks, are thickly covered with oaks, used for training the vines, whose numerous and antiquated stems sometimes rival the trunks on which they lean. The hill is backed against the east, and as the sun topped it and his rays ranged down along it, and shone through these now thinned and light coloured trees, he seemed to illumine them; and they shone on the dark earth from which the light was intercepted. Smoke rose all around from the festive preparations of each hut, on this their last day of the fast; it lingered among the trees, filled the sinuosities, or hung as gauzy curtains in the sky. The hum of human voices rose and was re-echoed all around this steep valley opening out on the sea; though here and there only, a human figure was to be seen hopping and springing among the rocks, or toiling up the stairs. The broad expanse of the Mediterranean filled up the rest and seemed to rise into the heavens. I was attracted towards it and into it: after rock and mountain, there was a novelty in this level of fluid, this moveable part of nature, upon which men were floating and in which fish were swimming. A box of timber moved by a will, not

its own, pressed its way through that plain, all calm and motionless as a sleeping child. Mountain and ocean! What is there, what can there be, equal to standing on the one, while gazing on the other!

My long absence had given alarm, as these people are not accustomed to solitary strolls. The Emir, who had already paid his visit, now repeated it. He entered alone, and I did not recognize him, for he wore a turban. This is the first high functionary of the Porte whom I have seen with one; every official now wearing the red cap, which was formerly a disgrace. On explaining the cause of my first uncertainty, he said, "I am old, if they will give me back the years I have lived, I may take perhaps their manners: as it is I cannot change." The visit was short; the crowds in the corridor and around the seraï, the horses of strangers waiting for audience, and of messengers for orders, picketted or tied to stones and stumps; and the rattling of their ringed curry comb, left no doubt that the excuse of business was no fictitious one. With every appearance of earnestness he pressed my stay, suggested making this my head-quarters while visiting the country, and said he could better provide for me in a warmer situation in a few days, when he should descend to his residence on the beach. He sent me his two eldest grandchildren, (he has four) weakly boys of ten and twelve, but sprightly, and with that charming marble pose or eel-like activity, as the occasion may be, of the children of the East.

To my surprise, I found that both spoke Turkish; so that with them alone of the whole establishment I could converse without an interpreter: they even served me in this capacity. They were dressed exactly like the children of the Sultan.

An afternoon's ramble up the hill surpassed that of the morning, and brought me in contact with a seam of enchrinites, of which a ledge of rock seemed entirely composed. They were fine but indistinct; and the rock so hard, that after much labour I came away without a single specimen. I had observed at Shimlan a bed of terebratulæ and enchrinites imbedded in clay, and so soft that the specimens would require more care and space in packing than I could afford.

These people have the habits of goats. I got upon a very nice smooth beaten pathway, on a space purposely left between two terraces. I was stopped by a wall, which as I approached I supposed had an outlet at one side or other. There was none, it was a *chair* or *cul de sac;* on examining it all round with care, I found points and edges of the stone worn, and distinguished the continuation beyond: the road was over the wall! With us it might just have done for boys robbing an orchard. I cleared the obstacle and continued to explore; and every now and then there was again a block or ruins of stones and rocks, where only by the wearing of the edges you could distinguish the track. I, accustomed to mountain work, had along the beaten

paths of the Lebanon, like Fitz-James when he lost his way on Ben Leddy, to use the hand to aid the foot.

I spent the evening with Emir Ismael, a man who reminded me of Petronievich among the Servians. He has not his talents or depth, I had almost said his square intelligence and round manners, but he is a man of composed and business-like habits. I may call this the first conversation on the state of the country. I freed him at once from all embarrassment, by telling him that I was not only no agent of the English government, but that I deplored its measures and did what I could to oppose them. He at once disposed of the foreign part of the question, if not in the same terms, in the same sense as Tamar Bey, and summed up in these words: "Our former troubles came from Cairo, our present ones from Beyrout." On the subject of the system of Caimacans I thought we were at variance. He said it was satisfactory to the people of all denominations, and had been approved by all the Powers. As I was applying myself to argue from the results of their interference as to the value of their opinion, I saw that in the corner of his eye which informed me that it was superfluous to proceed. His interests were in favour of the abuses of the system, and his class was opposed to the means requisite to their correction; but he put the case in substance thus, "We have all an interest in good government superior to the particular interest any may have in misgovern-

ment; for by abuses alone can troubles be again revived. The government of chiefs is gone, and must be considered as such: we must either have the authority of the Porte or the intervention of the people, or both combined."

He said the system was both good and bad; that the good arose from circumstances only; that the hands of a good governor were tied and no restraint left on a bad one. This was the sum of his objections; when I stated mine he concurred; viz. the combination of judicial, administrative, and legislative functions in the hands of one body, pretending to be representative. Besides the absurdity of the document known as the "Constitution of Chekib Effendi," he complained of the change of Pashas; each interpreting it differently. I excused the Pashas by the incomprehensible and contradictory nature of the law, and the torture of their existence under the Consuls.

Christmas day.—From 12 o'clock at night the ceremonies began in the different churches: the people issued only at daybreak. The occasion has brought hither nearly all the Maronite notables. Several have been to visit me in the course of the morning, and much talk we have had. North of Kesroan there are no chiefs, but merely, as they are called there, *fellahin* or peasants. The Greeks are there more numerous, and have no chiefs. They say, that when I have seen Kesroan, and the district lying on the coast, I shall know all that is to be known. What

an amount of ancient things preserved and of present things remarkable, in a district not equal to some English counties! The stock is here Druze, not Maronite. This family and the other principal families were Druzes; the grandfather of the present Emir was a Druze. They say that the Druzes are of one mind, while the Christians are divided. They all represented their political condition as improved, and their material state as deteriorated. An old Sheik who has just left me, was vehement on the score of the tariff. "Your ships come," he said, "with the holds full of *comash*, and go away with the captain's cabin full of gold. Formerly, we sold our tobacco and silk and made our clothes. Now we buy everything but abbas, and you no longer take our produce." I told him that for the first they had themselves to blame, and for the second their government: if they were not idle they would make their own comash as formerly; as to their goods, we never took them; if they sold them before and not now, or less than before, it was their own government who prevented it. When reasons were assigned in Parliament for the charges laid on British trade by this Treaty, the case was explained as one of hardship, to which the English government had to submit. In that explanation, these words occurred: "You cannot say to a Foreign Minister, sign this or jump out of the window." The Porte, being an independent government, was responsible for its own acts, whether in treating

with a foreign power or dealing with its own people. He inquired what the new duties were; and held up his hands in amazement when I gave him the items. He said that they placed the Sultan above their heads; that every thing he did was good; that they were of all his subjects the most faithful; that they loved him more than the Mussulmans did; that he loved them, but he never could have done this: that if it was so he must have been deceived. I told him there was no deception; the Turkish authorities gloried in extorting from the trade of England a larger duty than formerly; the English government gloried in having given liberty to the trade of Turkey, whose well-being it was ready to secure at any sacrifice. The only conclusion the old Sheik could draw was, that England had cheated the Sultan. England is now a dark cloud overhanging the Lebanon, oppressing it with spinning-jennies, treaties, intrigues and bewilderment.

One of them observed that there must be equal guilt on both sides: if there was treachery on the one, there was folly on the other. They contrasted the constantly recurring internal convulsions of France with the tranquillity of England, and asked me to explain how the reverse appeared in the action of the two powers in the Lebanon. This I did by explaining the organization of the French consular system, which gave to it character and independence; whilst the continual change of ministries, embarrassed the prosecution of a treacherous purpose; whereas

in England, no one attending to foreign affairs, every thing was at the mercy of one man. It was answered me that what I said was incredible. I referred them to the commercial treaty. They asked if the Foreign minister had not to explain what he did to the Queen and to his colleagues. I answered that the Ambassador at Constantinople was not acquainted with the instructions of the Consul at Beyrout. The words of Emir Ismael conclude the matter, for they leave nothing to be said. "We are in your hands, as a bird in the hands of a child, which neither feels nor knows the torture it inflicts."

Many will consider such statements as derogatory to the country's honour, and as unworthy of one who belongs to it. I should, however, rejoice in such a reproach, for it would be a beginning of a return to the thought that a country's honour ought to be cared for, and that allegations of treachery ought to be sifted, if only for the character of the minister supposed innocent. At all events, it will never by a just man be imputed as a fault, if I, after failing to obtain judicial investigation at home, should do all in my power to warn those abroad, who may be so involved; the more so, as they are the first victims, and it is only through them that England herself can know what is being done.

I have sought to make them understand, that neither the French nor the English nations had any

other desire than for their welfare, and that the interests of neither are consulted in the intermeddling of their agents. Such ideas are to them neither incomprehensible nor visionary. They are comprehensible, for they have before them the conduct of the respective Consuls; they are practical, for every village still exhibits ruins, and every family has to deplore deaths. Be it observed that neither England nor France is appealed to for protection against the Porte. It is as against each other, that protection is wanted. Thus by their respective connexion with populations of different creeds, whom they have placed in feud, the conflict between themselves is obtained.

NON-INTERVENTION OF THE QUEEN IN THE LEBANON.

Note—1860.

Twenty-five months and one day after the conversation recorded in this chapter, in which poor inhabitants of the Lebanon inquired whether the Queen of England knew what her Ministers were doing, a letter of that Queen was communicated to her subjects, in which those subjects were informed that the Queen did know what those Ministers were doing, and had no power to prevent it.

This was made known on the occasion of an attempt by the Sovereign to punish one of those Ministers; in so far as dismissal from office and the stigma of dishonour might be called punishment, for the deception of a Queen and the disturbance of a universe. As the circumstance is connected with England, it is one that may

have interest for the reader, because it belongs to the category of things to him unknown. At all events it must be of interest to the reader of a work on the Lebanon, because it furnishes the key to the proceedings there, which could only be devised and perfected by arbitrarily altering measures that had been decided on by the Queen, taking with other Powers important decisions without her knowledge, and despatching those decisions for execution without her assent. As it is solely because the decisions of the Queen were overruled, and her penetration overreached, that any interest can attach to these pages, for otherwise the Lebanon would have lived on in ignoble quietude, I may be excused for attributing peculiar importance to this letter of the Queen, and for inserting it here, so that the reader also, if he chooses, may take knowledge of the contents of this curious document, of which not the least remarkable part is the reply.

The Queen's Letter.

"The Queen requires first that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes to do in a given case, in order that the Queen may know distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. She expects to be informed of what passes between him and the foreign Ministers before important decisions are taken, based upon that intercourse, to receive the foreign despatches in good time; and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient-

time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The Queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should shew this letter to Lord Palmerston."

To which Lord Palmerston replied:

"I have taken a copy of this memorandum of the Queen, and will not fail to attend to the directions it contains."

CHAPTER IV.

TRIPOLI.

I WAS sitting thus about sunset, in conversation with some of the people, with the hills of Kesroan before us, when, on a sudden, the light burst forth on the land facing us. The evening having been for some time darkened by clouds, for a moment I was bewildered, as if I had been turned rapidly round. The place of the grey region was occupied by the red; looking up to Sonin, I saw the same tint, but deeper still, over its snows. From this spot the rising and the setting sun, except in summer, is hid, and the west was wholly shut out by buildings. I went up to my apartment, the Saracenic window of which was to the west, and beheld a sky which I never saw the like of, nor could have imagined. It was streaks of blood—red, arterial blood—with a strong light shining through; interwound with these were specks of bile, deep yellow, turning to green: the long line of the sea below was dark. It was a heaven to terrify a besieged city, or a troubled state. I was appealed to, to know if it betokened storm; I was struck with this forgetfulness in Palestine, and asked them if they

did not say, when they saw the sun set red in the west, "To-morrow it will be fair weather." It seemed an augury of their fate.

Late at night, I was called out to see a magnificent halo of the moon, which occupied a large portion of the sky; there were radiations from it. Shortly after, it came on to blow strong, but without rain. In Arabic halo is hallal.

Dec. 26th.—Left Bekfaya this morning. We forded a river, the road having been carried away, and arrived late at (name illegible). I sat on the terrace in the moonlight. Next morning broke like a dream on the glassy sea. I left the churlish place; went into the first shop in the market-place, and asked them to buy something for me for breakfast. They welcomed me, and took me to their house. The man was a silk-worker from Damascus. This is the only place, except Deir el Cammar, where they make abbas, caps and other woven stuffs, passed through the woof, in the same manner as Cashmere shawls. The people were all masticating sugar cane or sucking oranges. I went down to Jouni on the beach. Came on an open space, with a row of large boats piled up on one side, such as at the camp of the Greeks at Troy; on the other, tents, sheds, rude houses, and piles of oranges. Seeing a chief parading with his umbrella, and being told that he was president of the Megilis, I sent to say that a member of the English Megilis would be glad to see the hall of theirs, and its

president. The answer was, "I have not the key." One of the petty merchants kindly invited me to his shop, and offered me his house, to which I returned to sleep. What a contrast was here! Proceeded next day along the beach, and ascended to Gazir. The rock was like the Mer de Glace, with the hollows filled with earth instead of water. Ten monasteries came in sight: they were Moarni, Armenian, Greek, Syriac, Lazarist, Capucin, and Jesuit. I was embarrassed which to select, or whether I should go to any. During the last two days I was either in a new country or under a new atmosphere. It was not rudeness or churlishness; it seemed to be studied insult. In our countries, with hotels to go to, and only hotels to depend upon, the traveller is above the world; not so here, where shelter or food is to be obtained only as a free gift. I was even uncertain whether I should prosecute my journey; and, at all events, was looking out for the humblest habitation to ask there for admittance, when I perceived some Turkish soldiers, and learned that Mustafa Pasha was in the village. I repaired thither accordingly, and my troubles were at an end. I found him in comfortable quarters, which he had fitted up with brass bedstead, and other camp Frank accoutrements. I had just finished a hasty collation that had been prepared, when a visit from the Jesuit Fathers was announced. On this occasion I acted as interpreter, and a very ridiculous scene it was. Their awk-

wardness was extreme and painful. They did not know how to salute, how to sit, and tried to make up by fine speeches. They were further put out by not knowing what to make of me. Not suspecting me to be an Englishman from my accent, nor a European from my dress, hearing me addressed by a Turkish title, and seeing me occupy the place of honour, they could not give their attention to their subject, until at last I relieved them by informing them that I was an Englishman and a traveller. The ostensible object of the visit was to invite the Pasha to one of the ancient mysteries which was that night to be enacted by their pupils; an invitation which we both accepted. The gravity of the performance was greatly disturbed by a French boy, lately arrived, who, having a fine voice, sang the solos; the refrain of one was "My Heart," addressed to the Virgin Mary. In Arabic, kalb is heart, and kelb is dog. The boy, mistaking the one for the other, persisted at the end of each stanza in repeating the wrong word, which invariably produced shouts of laughter. After a very amusing evening, we retired, mutually well pleased, and I accepted the invitation of the Fathers to spend the next day with them.

27*th.*—Sky, one vast field of small fleecy clouds, coloured progressively as the rays struck upwards, shewing in their convexity, the globe form of the earth. The part of the horizon free from clouds was first blue, and then went through all the changes

of colour successively, as if a rainbow had expanded over the heavens.

The forenoon was occupied in a learned discussion, which arose out of the figure of the TRIQUETRA on a saddle cloth. They were vexed at these indications of antiquity, but found it not very easy to dispose of them. The Protestant missionaries were angry, when such matters were introduced: that is comprehensible, the Maronites being Catholics: but why the Catholics should seek to shut their eyes against the evidences of a high descent for their co-religionaries, is incomprehensible, except, that making war upon usages, they dislike them. On the present occasion we did not travel beyond ornaments. The Triquetra had been suggested by presenting itself. I instanced its use as an emblem in Pamphylia, in Sicily, and in the Isle of Man; in each, being the national blazon, but without traditionary explanation or social use. Here it is in the usage of the people, but solely in reference to horses. So that it is here more primitive than it could have been amongst the races who have left its record two thousand years ago in Asia Minor, or in Sicily, or who preserve it to this day in an English island. Being connected with the horse, there may be an association with the horse tribes of the East: it is found amongst the Tartars. The ornament is, moreover, always worked in felt, which is the earliest species of clothing, and which also is connected with the horse.

But this ornament does not stand alone. There is the SEAL OF SOLOMON or Pentalpha, (five triangles interwoven,) that mystic symbol of the Jews which to-day adorns the houses in Morocco, as well as in the Lebanon. The OPEN HAND is equally stamped on the buildings in the two countries. This sign can have nothing to do with the Arabs. The number five is so offensive to them, that they will not utter it, because it is associated with the hand. It is not only that there are these three ornaments, but that they are, if not the exclusive, the predominant ones, and that being associated with numbers, they have a mystic and religious sense. The Triquetra is the number Three, the Trinity, whether of the Godhead or man's nature, and so belongs to the earliest religions. It is worn to this day by the Horse Tribes, the descendants of the followers of Oguz Khan, the conquerors of China and India, probably also of Asia Minor and Egypt, and the professors of the religion of Japhet. The Pentalpha and the hand are severally connected with the number Five; and therefore with the great Indian Buddhistic Reformation, of which Five was the number of predilection, although the Cross was the symbol.

In the Arabian Nights the Seal of Solomon is constantly introduced, shewing the traditions of that work not to have been Arab; indeed, what is there in Arabia that is not plagiarism? Their conversion to Islam had taken off the edge of the Sabæan antipathy to the sign.

I started late, and got down to the beach near Byrgos; and, turning northwards, crossed the river Ibrahim, or Adonis, by a bridge that one had to ascend like a tower.

Platani and willows in the stream were festooned with vines; tall reeds and cacti were growing around. Abrupt hills, through which the streams pour down, lined the shore. We arrived at Gebail at dark, after passing through deep sand; I could make out granite columns as I entered the town, also immense blocks in the wall: one measured in height three and a quarter times my extended arms, my height in depth, and in width nearly five feet; say $18 \times 6 \times 5$. The plain was all filled with ruins, somewhat resembling Sur. Meantime my servants could find no house where they would receive us. Sounds of merriment, dancing, and the aoud, at length attracting us to one, some soldiers came to the door; they belonged to Mehemet Bey, and took me at once to the Caimacan's out of the town; afterwards a sumptuous supper was sent by Mehemet Bey. He had been with Layard at Nimroud; kept me up nearly all night with antiquities and adventures, the Pasha of Janina, the Greek and Russian wars.

28*th.*—After visiting the tower, I wished to sit down and write in one of the rooms at the top; and sent to get something brought thither for breakfast. Nothing, however, could be got, so I had to return to Mehemet Bey. I found assembled round him

thirteen monks in their cowls, which were blue, with blue kerchief round their heads, black *abbas* (?) with stripes in red. He was telling them very energetically that if one of them gave a false report he would have him shaved and sent to the galleys; an announcement which produced a considerable sensation. He shewed me the fallaka for the bastinado, which was beside his bed, and a jessamine rod; this, said he, is my pen; with it I sum up accounts in such fashion that 2700 become 10,000; alluding to the first and present census of Kesroan. He said he had visited every part of Turkey, but never saw a people like this; elsewhere there are liars, but here there is nothing but liars.

We went to see a sarcophagus in Parian marble. It has been mutilated, by order of Emir Hydar to take the front! It was dug up in a field, the plough having struck on the top. Orders had arrived to get some fossil fish from a village called Hael, about six hours north-east from this place; I had to instruct three scientific emissaries in selecting and packing specimens, and taking and marking fragments of the rock.

In the afternoon I left for Petroun, distant four hours; in passing by the walls of Gebail, which are made up of old stones, and fragments of columns and carved stones, I observed a singular combination of the numbers three and five; it was the seal of Solomon with a trefoil at each angle. One of these ancient blocks so employed has the figure of the

coins of Byblus, which is a representation of its temple. At Gebail I was shewn a piece of glass stamped like a coin, the size of half-a-crown, of a greenish colour, transparent, and with an inscription in several lines obliterated by wear, yet seemingly Phœnician.

It was like a June day, and I suffered from thirst, not having taken the precaution of my companion from Gebel Rehan to Saïda, of drinking by anticipation. This coast is destitute of water; at the few huts we passed they either refused us water or offered that which was brackish, and we hurried on to Petroun to get a draught. The rocks along the beach continued like yesterday; thin layers of silex running through the limestone, and giving to them the appearance of masses of Roman brickwork. The country gradually lost its Lebanon character; the words requisite to describe it would still be the same, but it was the difference between a translation and an original. The view contracted, or extended, only along a common-place coast; the terracing had disappeared, there were no longer abrupt transitions, and the contrasted colouring had faded into indistinctness; the heavens took also their tone from the earth, and aspired to nothing beyond what we know as a summer's day.

The sun shone on the little promontory of Petroun when we first came in sight of it, in a manner to give it an air of importance. As at Gebail, we come upon sand. The sand seems to have taken a fancy

to haunt the ancient cities: there was none before Gebail, and none between it and Petroun; and so at Beyrout, Sidon and Tyre. The place had the same ruinous appearance, but building was going on. The inhabitants exhibited no signs of dilapidation. A merchant who had come to visit Mehemet Bey, had given me a letter to ensure a night's lodging, a matter of some moment in this inhospitable region. It was conned over by them, as if it had been a letter of credit, which they had to meet. It was not till after long deliberation that it was decided that I should be allowed to enter one of the houses: once admitted they were kind and hospitable enough. No wonder that the inhabitants are well clothed; the craft of the place is tailoring and silk winding. They make clothes for the monasteries, and wind the silk from the neighbouring plain, which is covered with mulberries, though there is no water. There are 300 houses, and they pay 10,000 piastres, of which 2500 consists in a poll-tax of 10 piastres. That evening and next morning they pursued me with questions about the census, with complaints about the treatment they received, the expenses of the soldiers and officers, and the punishment for pretended offences in concealing their numbers; which they averred arose only from the fright they were in. I held up a glass to them, and was nearly as fierce as Mehemet Bey. These wretched tailors were requested to give in their own returns. They gave in one-third of their numbers; consider-

ing their trade, that perhaps was two-thirds too high. There was no exception; priest, chief, monk, peasant, black head and grey beard, all joined in the lie. I told them that they could expect nothing but severity from those employed, if only from the disgust which they inspired. No reply was made; one of them afterwards said to me that he had told them so before; but, said he, "our heads are thick." No, I answered, "your hearts are false." However, their hospitality surprised me, as contrasted with other things; until it turned out that the letter had an enclosure, in the form of an order from Mehemet Bey to receive me, and to treat me in such a manner that I should speak well of them. They told me, that he was the real governor of the country; that what he shut was shut, and what he opened was open; that all disputes were referred to him; that he was rich, and traded with Persia and England.

29*th.*—Beyond Petroun, a promontory runs out, with a chain of moderate height in its rear, across which we had to pass. The rock was that of the Lebanon, but decomposed, and had the appearance of earth washed down. When we got amongst it, there was on a small scale very pretty glimpses, and especially one of a little castle built on an isolated peak of about forty feet. ● From the top we got sight of Tripoli: its "marina" on a low sandy point running out a couple of miles into the sea; the city on the brow or in the hollow of a hill in the rear. The castle, of the form of a house,

together with the clearness of the atmosphere, made it appear quite near. In two hours we reached a small khan or café, close to the beach; and under the brow of a promontory to the left, was nestled a monastery. These buildings are the country seats. They have large possessions, pay no taxes; the monks live in indolence at home, or range the country at pleasure. Here I was overtaken by a party of the Emir's soldiers; they came up at full gallop and careered around the khan, playing the jereed. I admired one of their horses, with deep withers, a belly like a greyhound, short couples, and other excellent points; his appearance was, however, shaggy and lean. They were pleased with my selection, and exhibited his paces; the rider then dismounted, and the animal was offered to me with an earnestness which I had great difficulty in shaking off, and which was a warning against a similar commendation in future.

About two hours from Tripoli I saw, near the road, some tents of a very mean description; of rushes covered with felt, and the people at work making wooden spoons. I rode up to them; the Sheik started up, invited me to dismount, held my horse, went and picketted it, spread a carpet, and ordered coffee: what a difference between this poor gipsey-looking tribe and the churlish Maronite. The tents were six, the remnants of a tribe of Turcoman; the children as well as the people spoke Turkish; they had some poor cattle which they pastured. Again the Triquetra!

Before reaching Tripoli there was a beach of hard sand which we galloped over, and then entered an olive grove, where the trees are in rows. A thousand years have passed over these, for they were planted by Justinian. Yet are the ranks complete, as if of a plantation of yesterday. Such must the whole country formerly have been; every where there were fragments of the oil presses, and sometimes the stones entire. After the olives came the gardens among sand, and then the tombs. Here, as at Saïda, each grave has in the centre earth for plants; and at the head and foot a vase, inserted for water, with which the plants and flowers are industriously refreshed. There was scarcely a grave where the verdure was not brilliant, as if that morning a mortuary feast had been held, and a sacrifice to the manes performed. The care was not periodical, but only the usual signs of regard and habits of intercourse with the departed: here and there they might be seen busy at the task; here a woman and children, there a solitary old man, placing the palm branch, or assorting the myrtle. The tombs are fitted with temporary habitations; neat wooden frames roofed, and the sides covered with mats of reeds.

At the gate of the city, I inquired if any bath was open at that hour for men, as generally after 12 o'clock they are appropriated to the women. An old man, a Hadji, who seemed pleased with my inquiry, volunteered to accompany me to one at

some distance; there being eight baths, six for the women, and two only for the men. I suppose he meant, open at this hour. So, sending my servants to find some place to rest in, I proceeded on foot under the charge of Hadji Abdel Kader. The town was much larger than I expected; the streets wide and clean; at several doors I saw in progress the silk belts, for which, like its omonyme of Barbary, this place is celebrated. It was a long way to the bath, and we made a circuit, as the Hadji saw I had need of a barber; and, according to him, there was but one in the town; he insisted on my taking him with me. The bath was small, but comfortable and hot. Fatigued, and in the utmost want of it, with a fortnight of dead skin on me, often travelling in a country destitute not of baths only, but of every idea of, or convenience for, washing; I did enjoy this health-giving and strength-restoring luxury, as I do not think I ever did before. My interpreter had gone about from place to place to find a shelter; and now I was rather incommoded by his activity. The Consul's dragoman first arrived with salutations, requesting I should go to him; an invitation which I accepted as of course. Then came a messenger from the Governor; and on his finding that I was going to the Consul's, soon arrived a troop of cavashes, the Embrochor, or master of the horse, and the Governor's own horse for me to ride, as I must be tired, and the consulate was distant. The conse-

quence was that the people of the bath, where I had entered unattended and in a coarse country costume, began to overwhelm me, and to multiply the hands engaged in pinching and cracking joints; so that they seemed literally to exemplify the French expression of putting themselves in four. After having my skin renewed, every muscle worked, every joint cracked, and then a fountain of lather opened upon me, and revelling in its soft white foam, I emerged to a clean life again. The moments that succeed a successful bath seem to condense years of life—years also seem taken off the score. I had no reason to regret the Hadji's resolution to bring the barber, and I fully subscribed to his commendation of him. The fourteen days' beard, which would have cost in our ordinary course, excruciation, fell with the ease of a gentle pressure. I had intended to allow the head to remain unshaven, in preparation for my return to Europe, but this success encouraged me to one more shave; and, without this, I should not have known what it was to have the head shaved. After it had been gone over five or six times, I put my hands up and felt a large billiard ball in the place of a human pate.

I had besought the officials to let me return peaceably by myself, and expected that my request had been attended to; but on emerging from the bath I found a troop of attendants with enormous lanthorns, and the charger all glittering in gold embroidery. I had no resource, and mounted.

The animal, frightened by the lights and a string of camels which blocked the way, began to rear and plunge. I was embarrassed by a long sulam, and after a struggle in the narrow, crowded, ill-paved streets, amid crowds of people and shrieking men, women, and children, the horse fell right back upon me. I had, however, extricated my feet in time from the stirrups, and had thrown myself free as we fell. They were alarmed, and wished to lead off the horse. I did not want him before, and would have him now. The animal now proceeded quietly enough till we came to the consulate, where a similar scene occurred; again he fell over, and again I extricated myself. It was wonderful that no injury was received, except by the trappings.

I was conducted through a narrow passage, up a mean stair; and then opened upon me a hall of the Arabian Nights—a dome thirty feet high, pierced with lights as the cupola of a bath; and on the three sides, within Gothic or Saracenic arches, raised estrades, with designs around. The walls were partly in the coloured pottery slabs formerly made at Damascus, the floor in marbles inlaid, a fountain in the centre, and water flowing on the floor. There were in the further walls two rows of windows. It has long been my wish to have a cathedral to live in; I was at length to be gratified. Such then were the habitations of the Saracens.

30*th*.—The morning commenced with messages and visits of congratulation on my adventure of last

night. I have gained a name in Tripoli for not being beaten by a horse.

Tripoli, January 1st, 1850.—I find I am out two days in my reckoning, and that this is the first of a new year, which I expected to have begun at the Cedars. Time, whose steps are often held too slow, has stolen on me a march; the present moment is ever all that can be ours, it is therefore needless to complain that the missing days are numbered not on the one side but the other.

This place is plain enough; it has, however, its attractions. In the little shops, like booths in a fair, men and boys, in strange costumes, twine that soft and glossy fibre which is this country's wealth; shining in all rich colours, and giving the desire to feel and stroke it, from its soft folds. Their quick hands go and come as their fingers unravel the threads of rainbow dyes, while their toes hold firmly the braid; or the wheel spins round as they wind the precious tissue; or they swing in the hand as they comb and settle the heavy tassels, vieing with the lapis-lazuli, in lustre as in price; or the fibre of the clever worm is enlivened with gold, or it is figured into arabesques. Each stall has it own device and figure, its separate work or fancy. Their toil is by the light of heaven and in the eyes of men; they gaze from their raised stages on the throng, and the passing throng is pleased to look again on them. No factory bells assemble them, and no dismal walls enclose them. There were other stalls where were

piled the produce of industry and care; some sent from the banks of the Rhine; others from those of the Hudson. There was Manchester and Nottingham, Paisley and Glasgow, coarse, glaring, stiff, graceless. Tripoli has wrought this year 27,000 okes of silk, and exported 80,000.

The river Cadesha runs through the town. There are bridges over it, and a pretty glimpse up its main channel. There are gardens interspersed among the houses, orange trees piled up with fruit, and all sorts of trees interspersed with the rich foliage of the banana; the fruit of which does not ripen here as at Saïda. With the houses, the gardens, and the water, this may be called a little Damascus.

After spending two hours in the bazaars, I went to visit again the tombs, when I found the people, as yesterday, at their quiet work of love. A little girl passed the gate with me, carrying a bundle of myrtle branches and a pot of water. There were others before similarly laden, and others followed. I sat among the graves and watched them, refreshing thus their recollections, and keeping green the memory of their own hearts, as they poured water on the recording plants, symbols of tears and refreshing grief.

I then went to pay the Governor a visit; when I perceived his dimensions and rated his hundred weights, I understood how he might be perfectly safe on the animal of last night.

After staying with him as long as I had been in

seeing the city—which brought me to two o'clock—I started for the "Marina" with a merry attendance, all mounted on little asses fitted with enormous pack saddles: a company of Bachusses or Sileni, a-straddle on rambling butts. Our vehicles were wilful and discursive, and the tails of them flowed both ways; so that a succession of incredible figures, unless boys on whirligigs, were crossing and veering, decorously saluting, or gravely smiling, all the while. The path was a broad sward between two ranges of hedges of lofty reeds, interspersed with vine-enveloped trees: at intervals there were doors into the gardens; and as you passed you saw at each, piles of the buxom orange or maidenly lemon. Soon appeared the white clean houses of the Marina, and the masts of the shipping. We emerged from the rows of reeds right on the sea. At a gate our asses were seized; we were chucked off, and left to find our way on foot. We soon got through the bazaar to the water's edge, where was a large tower into which I could not gain admission. There was a sort of breakwater in front, composed of a chevaux de frieze of granite columns. In front was the ancient port, a reef to the north, and a jetty running to the north-east; within which lay a score of small craft, and one of nearly two hundred tons. The anchorage is at its entrance, which is to the east; that is, on the north of the isthmus, where a dozen vessels were anchored. I made my way about the beach to the west, between the houses and vessels

building; which amounted to three of about two hundred tons, and a dozen smaller. There was here a well built and spacious khan, on the face of which were shot marks, but of ancient date; the lintels were slabs of granite, one of which was shattered by a ball. I continued in this direction till I came to another tower, which I found open; and ascending it, looked out on a view for which I was *little* prepared. From Tripoli the view is confined by an immediately overhanging hill. On the way to the Marina I had never looked back, being busy with the ass I rode, and engaged with the other asses and their riders; it was only when I reached this window that I saw Lebanon in all its majesty, sweeping on by an infinite number of knolls right down to Tripoli. The city, backed by its dark fortress on the brow of a declivity, ranged between two elevations. That on the left was like a heap of twisted scoriæ or slag, cast out from a glass-house; that on the right, running on in a long bank, which shut out the view of the country behind, from those who travel the coast. Below were spread its gardens, pointing down to the sea, and as it were wading through it, to reach the spot on which I stood.

Entering one of the apartments of the ruined tower, I found two children gathered up in a corner on a sheep's skin, and a dog crouching beside them; it was evidently their abode. I had been close to them for some time, but had not heard a sound; they

were in rags, and when I questioned them, they answered in Turkish that they were orphans: they had an older brother, who had gone to try and get bread for them. They had nothing; yet these young creatures, trained to endure in silence, asked for nothing; there was no whine in their tone, readiness in their tongue, or stretching of the palm. They had seen me for half an hour close by, and had lain still; they spoke only when questioned. When I gave them something, there was neither grasping nor thanks. The hand was stretched forth self-possessed, and the eldest, rising and slightly bending, as he laid his hands upon his heart, uttered these words, "May God not make it less to you."

Without the ruined tower the place was all liveliness. The fresh breeze was blowing and the bright sun shining, the white walls glistening, the distance casting from afar its shadows. Purple grapes hung among the bunches of oranges; the pavior's mallet echoed from the roof, the mason's hammer from the wall, the shipwright's adze from the hull; and after this we remounted our asses, and filled with a cloud of dust the intervening space to Tripoli. The sunset then commenced his mysterious game, and gambled through earth and sky, sheeting this in gold, that in vermilion; but neither sight nor sound could dispel the group of little Seljouks hungry and silent in the tower.

A church has been recently built at the Marina: it is pure Gothic, a nave and aisle without transept

or chancel. This has been formerly an island or reef, like those of Sur or Saida, joined subsequently to the main land by the accumulation of sand.

The name of "Marina" is a perversion of foreign sailors; it is *El Mina*. This occurred to me at once, but I heard the very word in use. That word was given as a name both to district and city: in the first intention it signified fortification, or perhaps habitation; and to find it here is evidence of the connection with Southern Arabia. The word is scattered over the face of the earth, and has passed into all the languages of the west as applied to various objects; all however connected with its original use.

A small dock, to hold twenty or thirty vessels, might be here constructed at a trifling expense; and, from the superior activity of this place to anything I have seen elsewhere along the coast, I should look here for the commencement of Phœnician restoration. When I made the remark to two of the consular agents, they replied that the treaty weighed so cruelly on their rising industry, that they could not look forward to any such improvement until it was removed or greatly modified.

As I returned to the city a messenger met me bringing me a horse, and announcing that the Governor was waiting at the consulate. I had had enough of his horses, and thinking he must by that time have left, continued my way on my ass. However, I still found him, and he repaid my visit in kind, that is as to

length: nothing could exceed his amiability; and his conversation, though that of an unlettered man in every sense of the word, was not deficient in that salt of wholesome flavour, which far more than compensates the storehouse lumber, or flippant something-elses, which, in similar circumstances, with us would have furnished the entertainment. The story of Phœnician greatness, the failure of European systems, the character of the Turkish people, the nature of recent changes, were passed in review: the ball never dropped. He spoke with humility of his people, lamented their past conduct, expressed earnest hopes for an improvement; and was glad when I distinguished between changes which consisted in a return to those habits which formerly made them a model in politeness, order and justice, and—imitation of Europe. His conduct, I understood, did not belie his words; and the cleanliness, good order and activity of the place bore similar testimony. I was consequently much pleased with the visit; and on his retiring, turned to my host, a sensible, quiet man, anticipating from him the expression of the like. To my surprise all I got was a shrug of the shoulders, and an ironical sneer. I inquired if he was false or silly? There was no answer. Such is the habit of the Frank in speaking of the Turk, and each would fear to lose caste if he did not go through the ceremony with his nose and upper lip. At the Mina, I spoke to the captain of a Greek vessel dressed in the style of Cranbourne alley, and

remarking on the activity of the place he made me the same grimace. Yesterday, after my visit to the few Turkish tents, and when I was filled with the contrast of their ready hospitality with the churlish Maronite, my Maronite interpreter repeated the grimace, muttering—"Che Bestie!"

After supper I was invited by the lady of the house, who had been laid up for a month, to pay her a visit; she understood, but did not speak Italian. Her bed was on the divan, and covered with silver brocade; two little boys, of three or four years old, in crimson from head to foot, were sprawling about her, and her own attire (the head at least and bust) was surely never designed for a sick room. She said the prettiest things in the neatest way. After thanking her for the permission she had granted me, I was about to retire, but she had a purpose of nothing less than a Tertullia. Another lady was there. Coffee and nargillés were brought, and presently the small apartment filled. The gentlemen broke in at last, and then adieu to all conversation. They began with their loathsome and everlasting politics. My silence was construed into acquiescence, and I could imagine myself a Russian agent in the midst of the fawning adulation of a party of Greeks. At last, the brother of the American agent, thinking the ground sufficiently prepared, addressed me in these words: "When will you come to take possession of this country?" To the surprise of the male portion

of the party, I replied, "What kind of subjects should we find in traitors?" The lady of the house took up the thread as soon as I had dropped it, and I understood enough to know that she treated the American in a manner not at all calculated to compose his spirit. But this talk has no roots: he was presently the readiest, when all were ready, to admit the absurdity of all they had been saying, and began even to testify himself: thus—He and his brother deal in silk; they advance money before the crop, and depend consequently on the returns. The Maronites recently threatened to burn the houses where the missionaries were lodged, and drive them out of Eden. This animosity was excited by the proselytism of the latter, exhibited under a form which would be tolerated nowhere else upon earth, that of affording gratuitous education, board, and lodging. The consequence is that the two brothers, being Americans, have lost their trade; the people will not deal with them, nor complete for them their engagements. He said that the inhospitable treatment I had experienced was from the same cause: being a Protestant, they connected me with the American missionaries.

The Mussulmans of Tripoli are, as may be supposed, very fanatic, and not long since committed an unparalleled outrage on the corpse of a Christian, on the alleged pretext, that it was carried on the shoulders of men. Formerly Christian bodies had been conveyed by a horse or an ass; this practice, now

disused, the Mussulmans wished to revert to. The chiefs of the place were implicated, and even the Cadi, in so far at least as in his not interposing to arrest it. The ringleaders being cited to Beyrout, a revolt was threatened. Izzet Pasha came with some thousand troops, and secured the implicated persons, who are still in prison in Beyrout. During the moment this evening that the contest was maintained, this incident was cited; "How," exclaimed they, "can we endure the *Turks* after such things?" The Mussulmans in question were Arabs, not Turks.

CHAPTER IV.

VARIOUS THINGS, RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR.

January 2nd.—THE ladies certainly bear the palm at Tripoli. One visit this morning being to a newly married couple, I had some account of the marriage ceremonies, and they are notable. Seven days the bride does not open her eyes; forty days she does not speak. Her mother comes to visit her at the end of seven; then she changes her clothes seven times: the Bishop attends to put on the clothes of the bridegroom.

Tripoli contains the chief establishment of the Lazarists. I was anxious to get on, but still made an effort to pay it a visit. This body has been long predominant in the East, and is peculiarly favoured by the French Government, which even places funds at its disposal; its importance in the affairs of the Maronites can therefore be imagined. The appearance of the fathers was strikingly favourable; but for the difference of colour, their costume might have been taken for one of the country. A black silk scarf was wound round the head as a turban, flat at the sides and high. The Superior was not a Frenchman, but a Spaniard from Estremadura.

Père Francisco Amaya had no appreciation of

Eastern character, he had no eye for the beauty of costume; none of the æsthetic bearings of the subject touched him; he looked merely to the practical and moral state of the case, premising that his business was religion, but that he should not speak to me on that branch. He entered on the other at far too great a length for me to be able to record, but the substance was as follows. This country is weighed upon by Europe; its industry is extinguished, its character is degraded, and it is exposed to peril. At Damascus there were, a few years ago, 34,000 looms making their own beautiful stuffs, now there are 4000; they go and see in the shops imitations, cheap as they are poor, lose their money, and cease to be industrious, which is the first of qualities. With idleness, comes idle conversation. They then mingle in politics; every man has three appendages, not given elsewhere to human nature, his foreign friend, protector, and rival. They are always looking out for some impossible event, and in this constant "attente" they are carried away from every upright feeling or rational object. It is a matter of complaint that the Turkish Government does not make harbours or roads; what, for them to invite foreign invasion! Nor is it only their own ruin that may ensue; what misfortunes are not in store for Europe? This was the first hour of relief I had had, the first conversation with a European that was not a shame, a disgrace, and a fever. But

then this was a Spaniard, the only people of Europe that have not sunk into vulgarity.

My expectations of being able to reach the Cedars were considerably moderated by the account which I received from the Padre Amaya. He had, ten days ago, sent a servant to get some of the cones; he had been stopped by the snow at Eden, which he represented as then deserted. Finding, however, the little reliance that can be placed in this country on any evidence and any reports, I proceeded as if I had heard nothing, late as it was. Ascending the hill above Tripoli, I was confirmed in my supposition that the Mina had originally been an island. There is distinctly the sand, like that at Beyrout, blown up on the coast.

In little more than an hour we came in sight, on the opposite side of a beautiful ravine, of the village of Zgarta, reported at two and a half hours, where we were to pass the night; it is the winter residence of the people of Eden. We were conducted to the house of the Mucataji, which was in three stories, or rather, of two stories with a room on the roof. An instant rush was made on me: I was hauled from my horse, and hurried into a dark dungeon, crowded with people. After a moment's perplexity, I was enabled to distinguish the chief, by a glimmer through a loop hole, in a handsome youth, on whose head was a turban of the style of the Caliphat, lofty and full in front, and flat

and close behind, it reflected, in gold and crimson, the scanty light which found its way into the gloomy place.

Sheik Jusuff Caramb sprung up and embraced me—a Maronite, warm-hearted, self-confident, and with that openness and courtesy which at once commands esteem and inspires affection. After a few minutes of conversation, I requested leave to go to the roof to see the sunset, as that was an event I never missed. We mounted by a dark dilapidated staircase, and emerged into the evening light. The house is rather below the village, and to the east, so that the houses and the olive-trees shut out the western horizon; to the east, the valley opened, between the hill which I have described to the left of Tripoli, resembling a heap of contorted scoriæ, and the fore-foot of the Lebanon. This hill is included within the limits of Emir Hydar; his frontier then crosses the valley, and sweeps round the base of the hills on the south, to the gorge by which I shall to-morrow ascend to Eden. This, then, was the end of the Maronites and of the Lebanon. The valley, filled with water, which is conducted in levels on both sides for mills and irrigation, is rich though not beautiful. The sun shone down it, and it seemed reluctant to part with his violet light. It was calm, and the smoke ascending from the Tennours, or ovens, which they heat towards evening for their cakes with green boughs and inflammable

shrubs, gave forth rich volumes of smoke.* The mountains descended to the west in a succession of boar-like snouts, and a strong southerly wind, from which we were sheltered, carried along the whole line of the western sky broken clouds, like a cowled procession of spectres. The heavens above were dabbled all over, as if a brush of white paint had been dashed and twisted about on a blue canvass—signs of bad augury for the morrow.

The apartment on the roof was allotted to me, and there supper was served. I now found that Sheik Jusuff spoke Italian and French with sufficient ease for all ordinary purposes, although never should I have suspected it, for his manners were those of a gentleman.

Sheik Jusuff, without delay or circumlocution, commenced as soon as we were alone. "I had no expectation," said he, "of a visit from you; but since you have come, I must not lose the occasion. I have much to tell and much to ask." He did not, like Father Francisco, leave the religious question aside, but began with it; quoting the words of Christ respecting the rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He applied them in the sense that his duty as a subject had to be performed, as well as his duty as a Christian. To the priest, the religious bearing of loyalty was quite a new

* "Ten women shall bake your bread in one oven." (Leviticus xxvi. 26.) The word used is tennour.

idea: it was not so to the layman, and yet this layman had been pupil to the priest! He was full of it, pent up within him, and abounded in quaint illustrations. These ideas had "grown in him;" none shared them with him: "the people, like the Israelites of old, had all gone after strange gods."

He described them as in a state of either fear or expectation. Father Francisco's word had been "attente." Sheik Jusuff's was "tremblement." The Sultan had ordered that no one should be Governor but those with whom the people were pleased. This was very fine. He tried to protect a peasant from a Usurer or a Sheik; the Fellahin would be sowing or reaping in the fields, but Sheik and Usurer would be writing to the Pasha. The Megilis is very fine; but it is "a cold thing." The system of Chekib Effendi is very fine; what it forbids it makes easy. It forbids the Pasha to displace the Caimacan, but enables the Pasha to give an order to the Caimacan, by executing or by refusing to execute which, he will be equally ruined. The people have deputies, but have no power over them; they are for life. The officers of the Government the people have power over, as their office is at their good pleasure. The people can disturb the Government, but can do nothing for their own good, and so there remains no punishment for bad acts, and no shame for evil conduct.

He asked me what he was to do. I answered, continue as long as you can as you are. "What

then am I?" You have stood by yourself; try as long as you can to live by yourself. You must be prepared to fall at a certain point, circumstanced as you are. Knowing that, try to hold on as long as possible. "But can I get no help?" What help can your body get from without? What help can your mind get from without? "Why must I fall?" Because you are in neither of the two positions in which you might ultimately stand. You are neither in the desert, so as not to be compromised by necessity, nor are you in the centre of affairs, where, by the mastery of your own spirit, you might get the mastery of affairs, so as to direct them well. You can neither be the restorer of laws by your secret reflections, nor the rectifier of wrongs by your administrative authority. You are in the midst of circumstances too overwhelming for any man to stand long against them; these circumstances being but remote and distant consequences of the evil that is in operation. "Are there others so situated as you describe me to be?" A man standing by himself is the rarest of events, not merely in space, but in time. Relative excellence in character and institutions is not to be attributed to the exercise of individual faculties, but to the non-disturbance of primitive simplicity. Therefore is it that mankind, in all their varieties, are equally to be reduced to nullities in themselves, and may be divided into two categories, monuments or wretches. "I understand you to mean a distinction favourable to us

Easterns, which cannot fail to be flattering; but by saying such words, you surely grievously offend your fellow countrymen." You are much mistaken. A great writer has said, "men are always above their circumstances;" so are they also above their ideas. A man in degradation and penury is above his circumstances, because he knows that it is degradation and penury that he suffers from. So when you tell him that his ideas are false, is he flattered by the suggestion conveyed that you are appealing to his own internal judgment. If I tell a European that he is a wretch, that European, not being himself a fool, he will feel the compliment to his individual judgment; but there will be some twitterings of his self-love, because he will suspect that I am insinuating a commendation, at his expense, of the Eastern. But when I place in antithesis the Eastern as a monument only, then have you at once the judgment flattered and the self-love not offended.

He is implicated in the affair of the Missionaries already referred to, and is cited to appear before the tribunal at Beyrout. As he evinced considerable alarm as to the result, I endeavoured to reassure him, by pointing out the preposterous nature of the accusation; which must be judged of on its own merits, as the American consulate did not meddle in politics. He replied that everything that happened became English or French; that if one of his own servants beat another it would immediately

become an English or French affair. The spilling of a cup of coffee might bring England or France upon them, how much more if a Sheik be accused by a King before a Pasha (he meant the President of the United States). His friends had entreated him to go to the Consuls; he had answered, "If one of my servants were to go, and ask protection of a neighbour, what should I say to him? I am the servant of the Sultan, and not of the King of England or France."

I at first heard of this affair from one of the missionaries, Mr. Wilson, who told me that the missionaries had been driven out of Eden by force; which, at the time, I thought very likely. It has to be observed that the proselytism carried on is not, as is supposed in Europe, against unbelievers, but between Christians.

The Roman Catholic regular and secular clergy are established here as in any other Roman Catholic country; that is to say, they are Pastors of flocks and not Missionaries. The Protestants have no flocks, and they are sent with a view to creating them. Twenty-five thousand pounds are yearly subscribed in the United States for that object, and the Missionaries come here, having to justify the salaries they receive. They have town house and country house, horses to ride, and an establishment and a table which speak well for the taste of the citizens of the United States. These are results obtained by exertion and combination; and which,

affording enjoyment in their possession, prompt to efforts for their retention. The persons thus raised to affluence and consideration in a fine and luxurious climate, would have to sink back to hard conditions of life, if not into want and destitution. This relapse presents itself as the consequence of failing in the creating of congregations, or at least of supplying to those who subscribe the funds, plausible grounds for expecting that the consummation is near. Looking at the country, nothing can be more painful and more hopeless than the contest: nowhere is an ear open. As to converting the Turks, they might just as well try to convert the Archbishop of Canterbury. If by an exceptional cause, such as has affected the House of Shaab, a Mussulman becomes an apostate, it is not to the American Missionary he goes for a sacrilegious baptism. As to converting the Jews, it would be much better for the United States to send Missionaries to Monmouth Street. There remain then but the Maronite, the Greek, the Greek-Catholic, Armenian and Nestorian Churches, that is to say Christians, to convert. From the pre-existing animosities amongst the Christians, the Missionaries could not so much as open their mouths to any of the members of these communities on the subject of religion; and therefore it is a totally different course that they have adopted. They have offered themselves as schoolmasters; not as persons depending for remuneration on their claims to the confidence of parents, and on

their proficiency; but supplying instruction gratuitously, and adding thereto remuneration to the scholars in various shapes. Their admission in this form has been forced upon the people by the Turkish Government; the condition however has been appended to it, that they should not attempt to interfere with the religious belief of the pupils. This has been going on for years; the money continuing to be supplied on the grounds that Protestant congregations are being created, and the proceeds enjoyed by the Missionaries on their undertaking that they shall not create them.

This statistical under-current is, however, veiled or disguised from the men themselves. The one generation has, so to say, succeeded the other; the new men come out occupied with their own zeal, not caring critically to examine the position in which they stand, and entering at once on a contest already engaged. They are filled with contempt for everything around them, and to religious zeal, itself a sufficiently active impulse, is superadded the necessity of furnishing reports for public meetings and periodicals in America—reports which, failing to contain statements of proselytes secured, have at least to supply narratives of contests undertaken and martyrdom endured. It is thus that I had passed by, as very simple and very insignificant, an attempt in an outlying village to preach openly and directly to the people, and the outrage consequent thereon. Such

a disturbance might of course furnish grounds of complaint, on which, as in half a dozen other cases not more remarkable, a score of the poorer inhabitants might have been dragged to Beyrout, and imprisoned for a few months. But I was not prepared for being myself one of the sufferers, to the extent of being refused hospitality throughout a whole district, where hospitality is the law and practice, and where hotels are unknown. Nor was I prepared for the Governor of the district, living at a distance from the scene, being arraigned as a malefactor, and subjected to pains and penalties, such as in Europe no longer attach to high treason. I therefore continued at this place the inquiries I had commenced at Tripoli. There was no discrepancy whatever in the accounts I received; from which it would appear that there had neither been, on the part of the missionaries, an attempt to preach, nor, on that of the people, an act of violence.

The missionaries, arriving at Eden, entered a house, and disposed themselves to occupy it. The master of the house told them that he would not, and could not receive them. They persisted, threatening him in the name of the Turkish authorities. A great commotion ensued, and the people, with the fear of the Turkish authorities before their eyes, devised a plan for dislodging the missionaries, by unroofing the house. A roof in the Lebanon is not composed of tiles and rafters; to

touch a roof is a very serious affair, not to be undertaken in wantonness. The people had the satisfaction of seeing the missionaries mount and depart, without any act on their part which would expose them to after retribution.

The conversation begun upon this head, extended itself; and we soon came upon Proselytism in general. Sheik Jusuff commended highly the toleration of the Turkish Government, yet claimed for the Christians a counter duty very much akin to intolerance. When I asked him where he found this duty enjoined, he quoted the words "Go preach to all nations." But what? "The Gospel." Do you not profess to be a follower of Christ? "That is very true. But Christians have still to preach the Gospel to Mussulmans." Were the missionaries preaching to Mussulmans at Eden? Do they preach to Mussulmans at all? "Do you mean then to say that it is improper to send out missionaries?" This question led to a longer reply than I can here insert; in the course of which I shewed that announcing or heralding the Gospel to unbelievers was one thing, and the seeking to make converts another. Quoting the denunciation of Christ against proselytism, I shewed that those denunciations were applied not to unbelievers, but to those who held the true faith, as the Pharisees did, but who not living up to their faith, sought to mark their infidelity by fanaticism. That, finally, it was the purity of the life of believers that was enjoined by Christ as the means of preach-

ing the Gospel; that by such means it had been first spread. That the missionaries sent forth by Christ were not supported by subscriptions, but on the contrary were ordered to take no money in their scrip and but one change of raiment; and that what they preached was not dogmatic distinctions but *repentance.*

This affair at Eden brought to my mind an incident which may be found in the reports of the Parliamentary Committee on India of 1812 or 1813. A European (not an Englishman) having received the loan of a house refused to quit it on being required to do so by the owner. The witness added, that had it been an Englishman he would at once have claimed the house as his property.*

* The following is the paragraph referred to in the text:—

"*Q.* Have you known of any instance of private traders going into the interior and committing those disturbances?

"*A.* I cannot exactly recollect particulars. In the district in which I was myself, that ceded by the Nizam, there was only one European trader came into the country while I resided in it, he applied to me for a place to put up in for a few days; I sent an order to the headman of the village to accommodate him; he was shewn into an empty house, the master of which had gone on pilgrimage; he remained there above a month, the master returned. The private trader, whether a man of quiet habits or not I know not, would not leave the house, the owner returned and complained to me. I directed the trader to quit the house, which he did after receiving the order, in the course of two or three days. It was fortunate for the owner that the trader was a Dane; had he been an Englishman he would probably have kicked out the owner for

Supposing the persons sent to this country as missionaries to be themselves all that Christians ought to be, supposing them to appear as the Apostles, poor and penniless, labouring unhired and unrecompensed, still what could their words avail against the effect produced by the conduct of the nations to whom they belong, and who are called by the name of Christ? But if there were to be found such men in Christendom, would they be wandering in foreign lands with such work to do at home?

Sheik Jusuff, like Saïd Bey, is not the oldest son of his father. He has a brother, staying in the same village, double his age, with whom he is in deadly feud. The brother expelled their father from the government, and he expelled his brother. He gave me a history of the war which was exquisitely Homeric.

Jan. 3rd.—Leaving at dawn, in an hour and a half I began the ascent, and climbed for the twelfth time the sides of Lebanon. After attaining a certain height, the country below lost its inequalities, and looked like an undulating plain. Here and there were to be seen patches of olive trees, in rows, relics of the vesture which at one time must have been spread over the land. A good tree gives

presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit of law to eject him."—*Sir Thomas Munro before the Committee of the whole House of Commons*, 1813.

nearly a hundred weight of oil: they are at the distance of from ten to fifteen yards, and pay eight piastres tax. The age generally assigned to them is a thousand years; but this may be tripled at least. The olive groves of Athens were in their vigour in the time of Pericles, and are a fine middle-aged grove to-day. The grove south of Tripoli has every tree in its place, and it is 1100 years old. The proportion of timber to foliage being excessive; as the tree becomes old, the trunk extends, assuming distorted forms, and opens into fret work; the branches break off, so that they come, when very decrepid, to look like a piece of ruin, with some shrubs on the top. This is the character of the trees scattered over this plain, which, therefore, were in full vigour when Abraham crossed the Euphrates. At the time of the building of the Pyramids this whole country was planting, or had been planted, with olives in rows.

I was joined by a priest and a party of peasants, on their way to Eden, to bring away for the winter a part of their moveables. It was not, however, from them that I obtained this information, hard as I laboured to extract something. On the other hand, they were accomplished diplomatists. The English Minister has fully succeeded here in awakening that attention to what is passing abroad for the want of which he has so often rebuked the House of Commons. They incessantly broke off from any questions res-

pecting their own state, to ask when we were coming to take possession of the country, and the like. This is the French preserve, but they had cautiously commenced by inquiring whether I was French or English. As soon as this was ascertained, they told me that they loved Colonel Rose, and that all the village loved him; he had come and held a Divan, and all the people went, and he had got a firman from Constantinople for them, by which they had been spared fifty purses (£250), and also the horsemen who would have been sent to collect it. On cross-examination, however, the fifty purses and the horsemen disappeared, and all that remained was a claim on their village, as a Government farm, which had been decided in their favour. To prove to me that they had a case, they said that Emir Hydar had had one of his villages taken as a Government farm. When I asked why the Emir had not gone to Colonel Rose, they laughed as men who saw it was needless to continue the farce further, and said, "Oh, now it is not to Colonel Rose, but to you that we will go." To such a pitch has this prostitution reached, that they imagine they have a marketable stock in hand whenever a chance opens for whining and fawning on a stranger. A new and brilliant thought here struck me. Ireland may any day be converted into a Lebanon, if you will only get two politico-religious Consuls at Dublin, Limerick, or Cork, or at all three. What a precious life of it the Lord Lieutenant would have!

Imagine the delightful Blue Books to be published at Berlin and Vienna. The —— Consul said to me at Beyrout, "the Lebanon is the Ireland of Turkey." But one day we shall have Ireland the Lebanon of England. If the Turkish Government was fit to understand a joke, would it not announce to the French Government the necessity under which it was placed, of sending Consuls for the protection of its co-religionaries to Algiers; and to the English Government, the same necessity for the appointment of Consular Agents at Hyderabad and Delhi.* But this is no joke; it is the very way to get rid of these nuisances at Beyrout; on the refusal of the request by the two Governments, then the Porte answers, "Relieve me then from the intermeddling of your Agents." The two Consuls themselves would be certainly nothing loath: poor Mr. Moore is like the wheel of a railway carriage, doing hard work; disinclined to go, but not able to stop. He said to an English merchant the other day, in reference to his own duties, "it is a tortuous path, Mr. ——; a very tortuous path." Just what a railway wheel would say, if like Mr. Moore, it were gifted with a plaintive conscience, and an insurgent tongue.

As we ascended the loftier parts, we were involved in clouds; we were able to see only the ground we

* Three years later than this the English Government positively threatened the Porte with oppressing its own Mussulman subjects in India, unless it (the Porte) yielded to certain demands of intervention in its internal concerns.]

passed over, or rather the stairs we were clambering; there was neither wall nor portal, nor valley, but a village of terraced vines and mulberries on the side of a hill, under a hollow and bare cliff, traversed by streams conducted to mills and gardens, and adorned with magnificent walnut trees. These trees however are the relics only of a grove, which Ibrahim Pasha, who converted all things into elements of war and instruments of destruction, had cut down for musket stocks.

Smoke ascended from one part; we repaired to it; I was not refused admittance, and there were not people in the place enough to unroof it. We had to enter by the back; the front was allotted to the women, and the oriental seclusion of the fair sex is here preserved. This may throw additional light on the missionary turmoil, as quite unconsciously, they may have entered at the wrong door, and if informed of the distinction, would certainly have treated it as a piece of barbarism and judaism which it was their mission to destroy.

The hard shining clay floor was not dressed for company, so I was asked to retire till the necessary arrangements had been made. On re-entering I found rich carpets, a luxurious divan, velvet flowered cushions, and the shilté in the corner, of Damascus tissue and embroidery. Involuntarily I looked up at the ponderous roof, and shivered at the thought of a shower of sticks and dust in such a place.

My host entered: he wore a white turban, red

antery, and blue shalvar, with a belt of the striped silk of Tripoli. A handsome Cara Khorasani sabre, and one of their short blunderbusses hung by the wall, and around, amid the coarsest things, and in the humblest place, might be observed similar evidences of rank and taste. He is brother-in-law to Sheik Jusuff.

When I was seated, water was brought to wash my feet; a scriptural ceremony which I was glad to accept. Then a large muslin shawl, embroidered in gold, was thrown over me, and a censer richly chased, hung round with coral drops, and from which arose a volume of the smoke of aloe wood, was introduced below it, till I was nearly suffocated in finery and perfume. Then came the goblet of lemon-flower water; the fresh bubbling nargillé, also scented with the aloe, and lastly, the genial tiny cup of coffee in its filigree setting. How artfully are devised the means of turning fatigue and exhaustion into enjoyment; how lightly touched the various senses, and how enhanced the operation by the style; the antique beam of greeting lighting up the oriental flower of hospitality. This was the first time I had seen the censer since my return to the East; this too civilization is driving out. The grand style in Turkey used to be to meet a guest at the door with a couple of censers, which were carried before him to the apartment where he was received; one was then placed in the middle, and on his retiring both again accompanied him to the door. At Constantinople I was

myself the last to observe this usage with private persons. It pleased me the more to find it still beside the Cedars, and this pomp of the Western cathedral, in the domestic usages of Eden.

When I retired to rest, the sheets proved to be, not calico, but rich thick white silk, of the texture of Poplin, but much more soft, having at the top and bottom an elaborate border like a scarf in stripes of red and blue.

Note to p. 87.—On the threat of the English Government to oppress its own subjects.

"It rests with the Porte to determine in what manner this just and indispensable reform may be most satisfactorily completed. Hitherto the British Government has treated with similar liberality the millions of Mussulman population brought under its rule in India, and it would deeply lament the necessity of adopting a less generous policy towards them. The Porte, unwilling to incur so deep a responsibility, will doubtless bear in mind, &c."—*Note addressed to the Porte by Lord Stratford de Radcliffe, January,* 1855, *in Eastern Papers, No. XVIII. entitled,* "Correspondence respecting Christian Privileges in Turkey."

CHAPTER V.

THE CHILDREN OF EDEN, AND THE CEDARS OF GOD.

My Journal must here be supplied by a letter.

"Eden, January 4th, 1850.
10 P. M.

"What a date," you will say. Eden was so called because "a place of delight;" a garden of trees fit for the food of man and watered with fountains. But then too in the days of the prophet it was a proud city; the Assyrian king brought up his battering ram against its walls. There is in the word itself a melody of old echoes that come whispering soft thoughts.

The ascent from the tenanted plains was not only to the high and desolate places of the earth; it seemed a journey backwards through years, leaving behind, and below, the ages, their rulers, and their slaves. Other lofty mountains inspire conceptions of sublimity and present forms of beauty; but, however grand or fair, they are matter alone. This is a place of the spirit, where the soul, not the limb, climbs; where matter serves and nature aids in adorning an altar of primeval traditions.

But Eden is a *village:* There are houses with

doors and windows; there are cocks and hens, but there are no inhabitants. This is one advantage of a winter visit.

But the night is cold; a terrestrial chill brings sceptical sensations. Eden after all is my resting-place not my goal; and the sudden change, the rising wind, the dismal clouds rolling up the valley, are alarming for the morrow. The forebodings of the Sheik are added to my fears, and I begin to regret the days I have squandered below; one of which more industriously employed would have enabled me to accomplish this day my visit to the Cedars. The people around me are so bound up in the honour of the Cedars that I cannot apprehend more than they do for me. We are all afoot during the night, and every five minutes there is a rush out to look at the heavens.

11 *o'clock.*—The sky begins to clear. The moon, a full meridian moon, shines through, shewing herself, but nothing else.

Having in vain sought slumber between silken sheets, I got up again and turned to the Old Testament. Positively, Eden, this Eden, was considered the site of Paradise! Leaving the four rivers aside, the Prophets did identify this place with the garden tilled by Adam.

The first mention of Eden is (2 Kings xix.) under Hezekiah, when Sennacherib threatens Jerusalem with the fate of the cities which had attempted to resist either himself or his father Salmanesar.

He asks if the gods of Gozan, Haran, and Eden, have been able to deliver their cities out of his hands. He asks where are the Kings of Hamath, Arpad, &c? These are the names still borne by places of importance, or districts of considerable extent. This Eden too must then have been a strong and wealthy place. The expression used regarding it is peculiar. It is "Children of Eden." Of the other places the "Kings" are mentioned. Here then was a distinct race governed in another manner, and such as might belong to a society, preserving amongst its crags a more primitive caste.

But this is not all. It is "the children of Eden who were in Telassar."* Where is Telassar? what is it? Telassar is nowhere mentioned and nowise known. The word explains itself. It is Tel Sur; the land of Sur. Perhaps you will not be enlightened by the interpretation, at least until I tell you that Lebanon as we call it, or Lebnan as it is, is not the name of the mountain from whence I write; but that its name is Gebel Souria, or mountain of the Sur. And that the Sur are the people by whom I am surrounded; although to the learned, lost in the mists of antiquity, they are not visible. They are older than Greeks and Romans: does that surprise you? They are older than Assyrians and Medes; they are older than Chinese and Egyptians, as children of Eden may well be. Yet they are only Druzes and Maronites, and you may hire them

* 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12.

any day, at a very small rate, as Maltese boatmen. For they too are children of Eden, though they dwell no longer in Telassar.

It may be objected that in the Eden of to-day there are no remnants of ancient military structures; and that the scanty soil of its terraces, restricted in extent, afford no room for such prosperity. That the mulberry tree had not then conferred on the terraces of the Lebanon their luxuriance or wealth. In the Lebanon, however, military strength requires not walls and fortresses; the whole country is a fortress, and there might have been other sources of riches. Neither does it, as other places, require extent of soil for population; it buys its bread. Such also was the character of the whole Phœnician coast and people. Probably in Eden they were expert in the working of fine and delicate things; embroidery, dyeing, chasing, working in gold and silver, for which the forests of pine and algum afforded fuel. And might they not have had a mine in the carving of the cedars, then the timber of luxury throughout the world? Such must have been the elements of its prosperity, if indeed Eden was a strong and rich capital city. All this we find in Ezekiel. "Thou hast been in Eden," says Ezekiel, addressing Tyre, "*the garden of God*, every precious stone was thy covering; * * * the *workmanship of thy tabrets and thy pipes* was prepared for thee; * * * thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of *the stones of*

fire."* The reference to Eden may be here metaphorical; but with a real Eden, working in jewellery and musical instruments, and placed on a mountain, still denominated "holy," and scattered over with volcanic stones, the metaphor would have had a more than ideal application. See now what he has said before on the same page. "Haran (Hauran) and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. They were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in *blue clothes*, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and *made of cedar.*"†

Here the visionary paradise becomes a staple of merchants, and a mart of goods. Of its assortments here is the invoice; with the sources and destinations of the wares, specified as in a ledger. The cursory reader would not indeed suspect the mercantile and statistical accuracy of the Prophet; he would suppose his notes to be extremely loose, from the conjoining of Sheba, the land of frankincense at the extremity of Arabia, with the Hauran. But that is not the Sheba here meant. It is at present called Shabba, an ancient city, with extensive ruins, visited by Burckhardt; it is in the Hauran, and intimately connected at this day with the Lebanon: indeed from it the Emirs of the Lebanon take their surname of Shaab. No doubt as to this point can exist, for only in the previous verse another Sheba is mentioned; and what that Sheba was, we are in-

* Ezekiel xxviii. 13, 14. † Ibid. xxvii. 23, 24.

formed by its wares, "all spices and all precious stones and gold," precisely the importations from Arabia.

It is impossible to doubt, then, that Eden was a real place, and that its occupation tallied with those of the other places mentioned, which consist in embroidery, dyeing, working in gold, and carving in wood. The cedars did not belong to the Hauran, nor to Hamath, nor to Asshur and Canneh. The cedars were only on the western side of the Lebanon. When Solomon wanted them, the Tyrians brought them down to the sea, to be then transported to Jaffa for Jerusalem. Not found to the north, the south, or the east, they were restricted to the districts of Eden, whose "children" were consequently chiefly employed in furnishing the wares which Tyre received from the Lebanon and its dependencies.

Dyeing is mentioned, and not in a general way: a particular colour is specified, the very colour which to-day is worn by man, woman, and child, and which, very often, is the exclusive one—blue. What a chapter is here opened, if I could follow it, or rather what two chapters; the one the process, the other the thought. Indigo could not then have been imported amongst "Colonials." Whence, then, came their blue, and whence the thought, by which blue was selected, not being a natural product? The indigo would not suit the Lebanon, and the selection of blue must have originated in a country

where it was a product; unless you can find some substitute, and there is none. Eden was not then a primitive seat of mankind, but only a secondary one. On this hint of Ezekiel I shall hereafter work, occasion and leisure consenting. In the meantime, look at the light here thrown on that great contest of the blue and the yellow; that is to say, of man worshipping an Invisible Creator, and man worshipping the Host of Heaven. I am now glad that the chapter on colour was not inserted in the "Pillars of Hercules." I had my misgivings respecting the primordial station of the colour of the Sun, which misgivings are now confirmed by this historical evidence, and I must therefore reverse the order. The soil of Eden was red, and the red—Adam: the sacrificial colour was the last. The astronomic yellow preceded it; the etherial blue stood first, as symbol of the uncreated Creator, and as love and affection for uncorrupted taste.

Again, when in Amos (ch. i. 5.) the people of Syria are threatened with captivity, there are these words: "I will cut off him that holdeth the sceptre from Beth Eden," translated, without reason, "House of Eden." The word "Beth" of course means "house;" but is applied here to a city, not a family.

It is gradually that the discovery has forced itself upon me of this one and ancient race, in these now divided and despised populations, and I am assembling the materials for working it out.

January 5th.—About an hour before dawn the sky cleared entirely. There was no use waiting for day, so I determined to start at once, and in a few minutes we were on our way; the sky was cloudless. The moon had travelled far to the west, and was bowing towards the ocean through the open space among the mountains, which seemed left for her to reach her bed, and through which the Cadesha has dug its way in the roots of Lebanon, right up to the cap of snowy crests, where stands the sacred grove. As we proceeded we had glimpses of its depths here and there, until we came to the very verge. Here Paradise rises, there Tartarus sinks, and there was night in her gloom and winter in his glory. Excepting to the right, the horizon was filled up with piles of snow, cutting into the dark sky. It lay not as covering the mountains, but like sheets stretched from point to point of some gigantic frame. At times the sight turned giddy, the firm set rocks seemed in motion, while their drapery was gathered into sweeps and folds as if receding from you, as they dragged on earth their glittering skirts, reflecting the face of the uncertain moon in their silvery bends. I could have wished time to pause till I had reached the grove. But the handmaid of the Sun hastened to prepare his chamber against his rising, and her rosy fingers were forthwith seen adjusting the sky. Up then, with a sudden spring, rose the strong man, light for work, scattering the light of dreams: but here he fell upon

a world of silence; and nature presented herself, a virgin in white and blue, like a Conception of Murillo.

Our march was a race, and a festivity. To start at this early hour had been a sudden impulse. The word given was caught like a spark in dry grass; we cleared the village at a gallop: the footmen, in the uncertainty of the way, leaving the horsemen in the rear. "The children of Eden" enjoyed an ovation in a stranger's homage to their "blessed Cedars," and their "Holy Mountain," and their joy found vent in their voices and their limbs. They raced and shouted, braced by cold and excited by the starry sky, and rejoiced by the promise of a glorious day. But after this burst they subsided into silence; the wonders of the heavens were at work in them. When the sun rose his light was wanted for the vast earth-fall of the valley of the Cadesha. The mass laid bare is a mixture of broken stones and earth, pink and yellow. Now it has the boldness of cliffs, and now the desolation of mounds of earth washed away. We speak of ruined towers and broken arches; this was a broken and ruined mountain; there and there fragments of its structure stood erect, cornices and pediments, buttresses and entablatures, of Nature's towers and temples; of which the rest had been upturned by insurgent earthquakes, and swept away by revolutionary cataclysms, laying bare the foundations and opening up gaps in the building of the earth.

Yet this was but one story; a level floor of two or three miles lay below, between the sides of the chasm; and away it broke again into a second Niagara of earth and rock. The further progress of the crack, as it descends widening to the sea, could be guessed rather than traced through the bluish shades of the variegated distances; while, across the projecting parts, the rays of the level sun were reverberated like echoes from cliff to cliff.

Above the line of precipices the Lebanon had, with matronly decorum, smoothed down her sides like a tent; below, she had widened out her skirts, softening their nature for living things and plants: art and toil had fashioned and trenched each rood of slippery earth, pencilling with rows of mulberry and vine. This garden, overhanging the gulf of ruins, was overshadowed by four or five thousand feet of rock. Here and there the streams leapt clear from summit to base; and the rectangular forms of the masses that had fallen or were slipping down, leaning against and propping up each other, constantly presented groups of tumbling towers and battlements.

The path which had brought us towards the valley, then turned eastward over the table land, and soon after I had a presentiment that from a rising in front I should see the Cedars. A moment afterwards the footmen passed me at breakneck speed, shouting and whirling their staves; and so to the brow, where they crouched and pointed, levelling their

sticks as muskets, on a black spot in the very root of the mountain and at the rise of the little plain, and then each eye was turned on me to watch the effect of the "Arz Lebnan!"

We now stood on the level of snow. A few paces shut the dark world out. Not a cloud was nigh, not a shade or tint in sight: neither motion, nor sound, nor bird, nor plant, nor insect. Alone blazed the sun in heaven; on earth whiteness and silence reigned. Such was the approach to the Cedars. Let them be but scraggy bushes, still I owe to them this moment and this spot; and I recalled with indignation a passage of the only author worth reading on Syria, Volney, who deplores the *tiresome roads that led to them.* But with no such outer courts had I approached; had the seasons not now conjoined their times—winter with his heavy robe of snow, and summer with her crown of laughing light—still would the Cedars have filled one day of existence, in such a manner that few such might be numbered in a favoured life.

The whole of a knoll, a couple of hundred feet in height, and perhaps half a mile across, is covered with the grove, some trees of which are scattered on the side of an adjoining one. You approach them by the gully between the two. There were trees, but nothing in them apparently to strike; no graphic features which belong to the rare and beautiful; neither the tent-like sweep of the Tanin, nor the spreading roof of the Snowbar, nor the aspiring

85744

plume of the Deodara or the Arar, or the feathery tuft of the Palm. There was neither the sombre gloom of an impenetrable forest, the massive grandeur of the solitary oak, nor the airy shadow of the vaulted platani. They appeared nothing but firs, remarkable neither in form nor dimensions. The only peculiarity was the horizontal bars of foliage, from which stood up, like bobbins on a reel, the cones; not large and rude as those of the fruit-bearing pine, but smoothed and systematically formed like perns of brown silk. I wondered in what consisted their fame, and wandered amid their stems till I had become familiar with my vexation; when, before me came a block protruding from the snow. It appeared a mass of rock, but it was timber; and raising my eyes I found myself below a Cedar of Lebanon!

The rock-like trunk might be 20 feet broad, and as many high; then out from it grew seven ancient trees, as if seven oaks of the forest had been joined at their base, and fitted to a stem. Each of these trees or branches was 70 or 80 feet in height, and, nearly at their summits, 5 or 6 feet in girth. The mass of timber was enormous; and to it the foliage, disposed in bars like the yards of a ship, bore no proportion—their scanty and methodical lines, strangely contrasting with the giant and distorted limbs. Who could have imagined a Cedar like this; this, the Emblem of the maiden of Israel? Yet I

shared the fervent instinct of the mountaineer, which found this name to call them by—"Cedars of God."

On examining a broken bough I found that it resisted the nail, like oak. The rings are so fine and close that fifty or sixty did not occupy an inch. The rings were so irregular, that the timber made in one year sometimes equalled the growth of twelve at another period. The bough I was examining was a fourth or fifth rate one, perhaps a span in diameter; but on counting its rings I found it coeval with the Ottoman Empire. The branch out of which it grew, rating it in like manner, was as old as the Norman conquest; its parent branch again might in the days of Solomon have sprouted from a branch, then worthy to sustain an architrave in the "House of the Forest of Lebanon," and which had shot from the main branch during the building of the Pyramids. That mighty branch itself must have been washed with salt-waters in the time of the Deluge, and figured among the trees which God had already planted when man appeared. Eve might have spun, Adam delved under its branches.

When I said that the Prophets understood this Eden to be Paradise, I had not observed the following passage:—

"The Cedars in the Garden of God could not hide him: The fir trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut trees were not like his branches, nor any tree in the Garden of God like unto him in his beauty. I made him fair in the multitude of his

branches, so that all the trees of Eden that were in the Garden of God envied him . . . and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden? Yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden, to the nether parts of the earth."

How accurate the Prophet's description, "A Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, with a shadowy shroud and of an high stature, and his *top* was among the *thick boughs.*"*

In presence of our ancient British oaks, I have felt awestruck with the thought that the tread of Roman legions had echoed from their boughs. What then must one feel beneath tabernacles of verdure planted at the beginning of time, and standing now; in vigour equal to attempting a race with futurity, as long as that which they have already run. Then too, insects of human spawn, hatched and harvested in a day, may snatch an hour from their scanty reckoning amidst their noisy fellows, to wander in the shade or shadows of 12,000 years, and wonder at the story of 400 generations which they will have seen and will see.

I have spoken as yet but of one Cedar. What then was the grove? It was of trees of the same species indeed, but of ordinary dimensions, and these shot straight up, as we see in the so-called

* Ezekiel xxxi. 3, 8, 9.

cedars brought to Europe: there was no block and no parting off of branches; this peculiarity belonged only to the antediluvian breed. The Titans only had the arms of Briareus. Elsewhere I found more of these vast vegetable polypi: they are chiefly on the top of the hill, perhaps ten in all. Of these, two approach their fall; one by being burnt at the root, the other breached by the storm. Three more are unsound; two only are in their prime, and to them it belongs to convey to future times an idea of the giant brood; if indeed they be not soon killed by the miscreant habit of stripping off the bark for fools to write their names. From sheer shame, I would not read the disgraceful list—but one struck my eye, for it was like a placard: it was "LAMARTINE."* The way these Franks proceed is, to slice off the bark with a hatchet, and then to smooth the surface of the trunk. For this purpose the ancient trees are chosen, and of course it is only at the height of the man and eye that these tablets are prepared. The finest trees are at present two-thirds barked, at about six feet from the ground. With the influx of travellers, a few years will suffice to ring them completely. No shame restrains that brood, no anathema stays their sacrilegious hands: a class of persons, generally supposed to consist of scholars and gentlemen, demean themselves as live

* I afterwards ascertained that Lamartine had not been able to reach the Cedars, but had sent his Dragoman to inscribe his name.

cargo discharged from a Margate steamer on a Sunday afternoon. Thus is civilization laying its poisoned axe at the root of these as of so many ancient stems; and, in another generation, the Cedars of Lebanon may exist only in the Song of Solomon and the dirges of the Prophets.

A troop of peasants passed through the grove, with asses and mules laden with roots of plants, which they had been laboriously digging from under the snow, and which they were storing for fire during their hybernation. A few remain in each village to clear the snow from the roofs. However severe the toil and scanty the produce, they laid not a hand on a fragment of the tempting blocks and boughs scattered around, which had been smitten by the lightning, broken off by the load of snow, or torn by the wind: nor did they touch the chips which had flown from the axe of the Franks. If this respect cannot serve to us as a lesson, let it not be lost as a reproach.

A French writer, in 1725, whose work I saw at the Jesuit convent of Gasir, estimates then the old trees at 20. Thus one-half have been used up in a century by tourists for an album. There are perhaps 30 more which would take 4 men to girth, and which may be 2 or 3000 years old. The remainder, which may amount to 500, are of smaller dimensions, though none seem to be younger than a couple of centuries. These are the characters of the old species.

The trunk dividing at from ten to twenty feet from the ground; the branches contorted, and snake-like, spreading out as from a centre, and giving to the tree the figure of a dome. The leaf-bearing boughs, spread horizontally; the leaves, or spiculæ, point upwards, growing from the bough like grass from the earth. These spiculæ are thick and short, about an inch in length. The cones stand up in like manner, and are seen in rows above the straight boughs. The cones contain seeds like the cone of the snowbar. The timber is in colour like the red pine, with a shade of brown. It is close-grained and extremely hard. No worm touches it, and the centre of the largest trees seems solid. It is considered the most durable of woods. In the destruction of Antioch, Tyre, and other places, in the time of the Crusades, the beams of Cedar are enumerated and mourned over, as are the vessels of gold and silver and the glass of Tyre. Many of these must have been from the times of Hiram and Solomon. It burns without smoke, and emits the perfume of frankincense.

I confess I did make a fire of cedar wood; but I touched no living twig; with the fragments around, and half-burnt trunks, I lighted a flame amid the snow, which filled the wood with its own perfume. The light smoke hung in the boughs, as vapour of amber and opal, and then from the clear flame a perpendicular mirage arose, through which danced snow, foliage, and sky, as if seen through an atmo-

sphere of boiling glass. Their name in Arabic is Arz. They are called Arz Lebnan, Arz Allah, Arz Mobarik; the Arz of Lebanon, the Arz of God, the blessed Arz.

The sacred character is, however, not solely derived from their form and position: it must be attributed also to their solitariness. Were they spread far and near, they could scarcely be venerated. At present, to visit them constitutes a pilgrimage. There is besides the mystery. A plant that stands alive before you and yearly produces its seed, and which yet cannot be reproduced by means of that seed, is something out of the order of nature. That in the time of the Prophets they were confined to this district, the Old Testament informs us; that to-day they are to be found nowhere else, any traveller's eyes may tell him.

In the time of the Crusades, the cedar cone was an object of peculiar veneration,* although probably not a single Crusader ever beheld one growing on its tree. Ascending higher, we find the head of the Thyrsis amongst the Greeks, a cone generally taken to be that of the common fir. But the common fir was never an object of veneration; nor can we here neglect the affiliation, through Pan, who

* Godfrey of Boullion, after a successful expedition against the Sultan of Damascus, was presented by the Emir of Cæsarea with all the fruits of Syria. Among these were the pines of the Cedars of Lebanon, and this alone was the tribute which the hero of Tasso would accept.—*Michaud*, t. ii. p. 17.

was himself a son of the Lebanon, and whose native city, Banias or Lacksha, under Hermon, I have described on the occasion of our hawking expedition from Gebel Rehan. Ascending still higher, to the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, which the prophet-poet of Lebanon beheld in their splendour, we find in the hand of the priest, invariably the one sacrificial offering, the cone of the Cedar. So essentially identifying this region and its people with the Assyrian Empire and its faith.

There now remains a great mystery to solve. How conciliate the veneration for the tree which makes it sacrilege to use its timber, with the traffic in that timber in ancient times? Veneration is never invented; veneration is a plant which does not grow from cuttings. Like the Cedar itself, it is not only ab antiquo, but also it is not capable of propagation in subsequent times. It may be that the ancient tribe was the one held sacred, and that those of more recent date were not so. Between the ancient trees and the rest no space intervenes which could have been occupied by forests since felled; and the antiquity of those immediately surrounding the very ancient ones, shewed that they stood there in the time of Hiram and Solomon. The sense of veneration now draws indeed no distinction between older and younger; but this may easily be understood. After the traffic had ceased, the distinction would be lost, and the sacred character would then be ex-

tended from the fathers to the children, from the patriarchs to the whole tribe.

The term ARZ must remain a subject for future inquiry. It is every way most remarkable. Not being a generic name; not applying to trees; but being an epithet reserved for these. The near approach to that sacred term Ar, which is fire, and the designation of the fire-worshippers, cannot fail to suggest itself. Yet the system of Souria, to which the Cedars belong, would seem to have an association of hostility only, with the Arians and Urians, with the Ararat of the Khita, and the Ur of the Chaldees. It is singular that the sacred and sacrificial tree of the Atlas, the Thuja articulata, is named Arar.

I collect and subjoin the few indications that antiquity has left us of the Cedars, which proceed only from Hebrew pens.

"He (the Behemoth) moveth his tail like a cedar." Job xl. 17. "Now therefore command thou that they hew me cedar trees out of Lebanon, and my servants shall be with thy servants; and unto thee will I give hire for thy servants, according to all that thou shalt appoint: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that have skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians." 1 Kings v. 6. Cedar beams were so extensively used in Solomon's palace that it was called the "House of the Forest of Lebanon." 1 Kings vii. 2.

When King David wanted to build the Temple, he said to Nathan the prophet, "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth between curtains."

2 Sam. vii. 2. Of Solomon it is said, "He spake of trees from the Cedar tree that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." 1 Kings iv. 33. The Psalmist says of the righteous, "He shall grow like a Cedar in Lebanon." Ps. xcii. 12. "His countenance is as Lebanon; excellent as the Cedars." Cant. v. 15. "Oh, inhabitant of Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the Cedars." Jer. xxii. 23. The cleansed leper was to take "*cedar wood*, scarlet, and hyssop." Lev. xiv. 4. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir trees of Senir (Amorite name for Lebanon); they have taken Cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee." Ezek. xxvii. 5. "And all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon." Ezek. xxxi. 16.

There still remains one point to consider, which is the association that seems to be established between the Lebanon and Canaan, in regard to religion, superstition or idolatry. Those who do not look very close in such matters will indeed not draw any distinction at all; they will at once associate "the Grove" and the trees of God on this lofty mountain, with the Groves and High places of the Canaanitish idolators, and towards which the Jews were so singularly drawn. Satisfied as I am, that the population of Lebanon had no connection with the Canaanites, and had maintained their independence against those invaders, as completely as it did against the Greek and Saracenic Empires, and the Crusaders, I have to meet the objection that will be raised from the supposed analogy. This is easy. It suffices to point to the language of the Prophets in regard to "the Cedars," and their language when speaking of "the Groves"

and "high places." The connection however depends but upon a word, and that word a false translation. "The Groves" of the people of Canaan were not planted trees; they were "images," the Bali of the Buddists, such as are described by Huc and Gabet at the Feast of Flowers in Thibet. In the Holy Land are to be found unmistakeable evidences of the three systems of the East, Brahmanism, Buddism, and Fire-worship, and also of Sabæism. The religious system of the Lebanon, whatever it was, was distinct from all these.

CHAPTER VI.

RISE OF THE TIERS ETAT.

January 6th.—To-day the sky is overcast, and though it neither snows nor rains, I should have lost all the charm of the excursion of yesterday. I wished to see the great monastery of Canobin, which is in the deep gully of the Cadesha; but finding it would take four hours, and render it impossible to reach Patroun to-night, and with the menacing air of the heavens, I gave it up. I therefore contented myself with such description as I could obtain of the monastery, which amounted to this; that it was a large building in the bottom of the Waddy, and from which, as became a monastery, nothing was visible but the heavens. I bade adieu to Eden shortly after the sun was up.

In two hours we struck on, and descended into, the gully, and crossing the stream on a bridge of trees, ascended the other side. We then toiled along, up and down, through a varied country, not without beauty, but unlike that of the Lebanon, till we reached, about sunset, the chalky range above Patroun. Here the view is very fine; the sea opens out on both sides, and before us were the chalky cliffs, with their white escarpments, against the dark

and troubled sky. Behind, the prospect extended wide, and through a gorge appeared a mountain with the form of an elephant. The rain had been falling around, but had almost entirely spared us; it was a gloomy, and such as in England would be called, a fine growing day. We passed, near its close, over flint, which spread in sheets of several feet in thickness, either brown, or in masses black in the centre and white all around, as if decomposed, or having been subjected to the action of fire. We had stopped but once for ten minutes at a village called Arbesh Haya, three or four hours from Patroun, where I entered a hut, but which inside extended as if into a street; the adjoining huts being separated by arches only. The lower part of these were filled up with the vases in reeds and clay, and the intervals fitted with pigeon-holes for dishes and implements. Here for the first time I found them spinning and weaving cotton. The spinning of wool and of the refuse silk still goes on, but cotton has been driven out elsewhere by our Jennies. I could find my way from one cottage to the other by passages left in the arcades, and beheld a little population all activity and variety. In one place a woman was spinning cotton with her cumbrous wheel; others, children three years old, sauntering about with the swinging spindle; the cotton or silk not on a rack, but on a sort of pair of horns fixed to a bracelet, held in the left hand; here a woman sitting in a hole in the floor was weaving; one was

walking backwards and forwards, laying the many coloured threads of the warp of a belt for her husband. I got away with difficulty. Domestic industry is always the handmaid of hospitality; each wished to exhibit her work and its produce; their silken shirts and veils, their vests, belts, and anterys, with all the pride with which a Highland lady of the old school would display her huckaback and damask.

From the chalky ridge we descended to the small old castle on the rock, and then, as it was now dark, mended our pace till we reached Patroun, against a gale, which had recently been a breeze, but which became, before we reached our destination, a storm. But not till we got housed did the heaven open its flood-gates. The house where I had slept on my former visit, was filled with guests, so I was taken to another at the extremity of the little promontory, on a rock overlooking the sea. During the night the waves added their moanings to the wind, and the spray, making a clean breach over the terrace, fell mingled with the hail.

I forgot to mention when last here the discovery of a true Tartan. It was not in the clothing, nor in the furniture, but the sheets. I had several times observed sheets which resembled the stripe or check used for ticking in Europe, and attributed the fashion to an imitation of our mattresses. The sheets, however, at Eden, and more particularly this Tartan, satisfied me that it was an ancient usage, of

which I caught a glimpse. I have elsewhere traced the "battle colours" of the clans, not known to the other Gauls, to their having served in this country, in the wars which followed the death of Alexander. It may therefore be imagined with what satisfaction I found a perfect Tartan, still extant. The stuff was a mixture of cotton and spun silk; the colours were blue, red, and white, the white forming the large field, as in the dress Tartan of the Stuarts. The check appears only half the size, but on closely examining it, it has the exact dimensions, for there is an alternation of colour in the intervening stripes. In traversing the whole country, I only once saw it, and, on inquiring, found that there was but one woman remaining who made this stuff. I sent for her, and asked her to make me some, but she said that now they no longer dyed the raw silk, and it would require some months to get the materials prepared. I could find in the whole place none of the stuff. There absolutely remained but this pair of sheets, and they had been put on by mistake, for which the master of the house made many excuses. There was, therefore, a clan Souria, and its battle colours—that is, its dress, not flag—was the Tricolour. How stupid in the French, not to have discovered this claim to the Protectorate. However, the Union Jack displays the self-same colours.

January 7th.—The wind continuing, but the weather fairing, I set out about ten o'clock, and had

got about two miles, when a sort of tourbillon came sweeping along the surface of the sea, right in a line for us. We made sudden preparations for its reception; collecting our horses, turning their tails to it, and covering ourselves up; for ten minutes the hail came as if cast in handfuls. After this, the sun broke in, and we continued our route along the beach of rocks, against a wind so strong that at places we were brought to a stand-still. The waves came tumbling down, and the spray went shooting up, and a broad region of foam tracked along the coast the sea line; while the fumes of this great trouble was blown inward along the land, and up the sides of the hills. The path was close on the edge, and the rocks being undermined, the waves found a vent through apertures under our very feet, and bellowed forth like steam engines, shooting up forty or fifty feet, and causing a shower of shattered sea-weed to fall around. In four hours I reached Amshed, a village above Gebail, and, with my usual good fortune, just as we had got under cover, a deluge of rain came down. I was introduced into a dark room, in which, however, there were nine windows, and glazed too, but, faithful to their antique manners, the weather being foul, the shutters were closed, just as if they had no glass. Here it occurred to me that the difference of elevation in the room, and the high step which separates the part round which run the divans from that below, comes from the separation of the part originally destined

for the cattle. I also here observed in a newly built house, the chiselling away of the edges of the stones, leaving the centre rough, just as in the edifices of the highest antiquity. These retentions of the earliest things bear upon the tartan sheet found at Patroun, and on the resemblance between the forms of tombs at present in use, and those of Lycia on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other.

My reason for coming to Amshed was to see Cavaja Tobias. He was the first person of influence I had heard of, who was neither Government officer nor Mucataji. Here was the first indication that something might grow up in the land belonging to itself.

This mansion in process of construction was in the style of that of Emir Hydar, but not so extensive. Ascending the square mass with only loopholes, to the first floor by an external staircase, I came on the marble-paved and tesselated court, thence passed into the darkened chamber before mentioned. An old man in the new Turkish dress emerged from the door way, and embracing me, conducted me within. I found assembled round him a number of persons of respectable appearance, and a train was in attendance, which stood in reference to that of the Emir, much as did his habitation. The air was not mercantile, but courtly. Masses of books, like ledgers, were piled on the floor, and in a recess were heaped Arabic printed volumes; two secretaries were writing at his dictation. After compliments were over

he resumed a story which he had been narrating. When it was concluded he turned to me and commenced a conversation which lasted that afternoon, great part of the night, and half the following day.

He was "a man of the people;" he was a philosopher; he was a parliamentarian; he was a man of progress, liberty and equality; but no theorist, and no revolutionary. He was a practical man, and yet rhetorically inclined; but withal reserved, cautious, moderate, sententious, and epigrammatic. He was a flowing river beside which I sat, and he swelled up, that I might dip my cup in. The stream was historical, the genealogies of the land — the Sheiks; the rise of each house, its date, its adventures, rivalries and portraits. I knew already enough to appreciate the felicity of the selections and the judiciousness of the colouring. To account for things the smallest motives were good; and his motive in all, was the desire to put me in possession of information. There was no escape from the inferences I had to draw, but the inferences were to be all my own.

Before we parted for the night, I varied the theme, then well nigh worn thread-bare, by observing that these personages belonged now to a concluded order, and that I was desirous of obtaining some insight into existing things. The Lebanon having now passed into the constitutional system, I begged him to give me some information on the legislative performance of Chekib Effendi. The

answer burst from his lips, as if from one not only full of his subject, but impatient also to pour it forth. It came in these words, which I write down word for word. "We place you above our heads. You have given us this law, and we thank you." Having said this, he sat silent and motionless. I sat with my eyes fixed upon him; he bore the gaze with an insolence of composure. His chin positively assumed an elevation under it; nothing remained for me but to speak. I told him that if he had come travelling into my country, and made inquiries from me respecting some new parish regulation, my answer, although we were a rude and uncourteous people, would be to the best of my abilities given to his question, and would not consist in something else; which other thing might be taken as an incongruity, or twisted into an offence. My host immediately adjusted himself to a small practising lawyer in a criminal court; was curious to know why Mr. Moore had said so and so; why Colonel Rose had done so and so; with a ready laugh, and "how strange," for each answer. After the argument had been completed, and I had been satisfactorily convicted of knowing nothing of what was doing in the world, and at Beyrout, I thought it high time to let him know that I knew perfectly well what was doing at Amshed, and had perfectly comprehended the meaning of the four hours conversation, which by that time we had had; for, not five of the two hundred and forty minutes had elapsed, before

I had comprehended that I was sitting opposite to a usurer. The word was no sooner spoken than my host was at ease, at least after one and a half wry faces: he blushed, chuckled, warmed and glowed, as I went on with illustrations of the Parliamentary system, in bringing wealth and lands into the hands of those who were sharp enough to manage Parliaments and factions, and could keep their eye strictly fixed upon the one thing needful, the rise and fall of the exchange: and so we parted.

Next morning he did not appear to have passed a wholesome night. The jaunty air was gone, so the fixedness of eye; the rolling orbs and furtive glances gave note of preparation for a combat of another kind; so I delayed my departure to give him the chance; otherwise, no help. I strolled forth; after a time he followed me; while cracking some rocks he approached; we sat down upon the stones, and he began, addressing me by the title of Emir. I inquired the cause of this change of address; he could not apply to me any other title, since he understood from one of his friends that I was President of the English House of Commons. I informed him that his friend was entirely mistaken; that I was not President of that body, but a mere ordinary member. "At all events, you are member of the greatest and noblest body that exists in the world; and we, poor Fellahin of the Lebanon, may well designate by that title any one belonging to it." On this point you are not less mistaken

than the other. A more abject or more base existence can be dragged out by no Fellahin of the Lebanon, than that which falls to the lot of a member of the English House of Commons. "Last night we talked a great deal with words, now let us talk with our eyes." I am quite ready; and here it is. You have made money; do you want to keep it? "I have made money, and I want to make more." Why have you loopholes in your house? "Very true. What is to be done?" Think for yourself. "I have long thought for myself." Yes, to make money, but not to keep it. "Begin then." Get rid of the Sheiks. "Good." Get rid of Chekib Effendi. After a pause, followed by a smile, "Good." Get rid of the tariff. "Good, good." Get rid of the consuls. "Good, good, good." (The Arabic manner of rendering "very," is by thrice repeating the word.) Silence for a time ensued. "How is it to be done?" Let the people collect their own taxes. "I understand it all—*Emir*."

Now, I said, that we understand one another, I want to put to you a question. Your establishment shews me that you possess cunning, dexterity, activity, and resources of a business kind. Your conversation of last night shews me that you have duplicity and tact. Your reflections of the night (he started) shews me that you have forecast and depth. Your conversation of this morning shews me that you have judgment. I now ask you to tell

me if you have courage? "Courage with a musket, I have not. Courage with a Pasha, I have not. Courage with a consul, I have not. I have never had courage. You may give me courage." Have you not fear? No answer. Pointing towards his house, I said, "there a torch," and to his throat, "there a dagger." He assented. I continued. You have fear; then you have courage. "What to do?" To join when all others are ready, in a common appeal to your Sovereign, not from the Lebanon alone, but from all Syria, to be freed from those things which you say it is good for it to be freed from; and to lay down a rule for your own government, such as you say it is good for it to possess. "It is all good, and all true, and lacks but one thing. We have no trust. Give us trust." What have I been giving you for the last half hour? "You have only been giving me this, that we must have yourself."

I told him, as the best evidence of what was severally working in the minds of those portioned off, and severally unknown communities, that what had occurred to him had occurred to others; and that as in one case the idea had been presented to them of separate confidence in an individual by means of which could be obtained the union of the different parts of the country, and the union of these with the head of the State, there would be no difficulty in finding an individual to form that link, which would only be a return to their own immemorial usages,

according to which they had elected their own Prince; the last of which elections had been under the Turkish Government, and having been conducted without its interference had received its sanction. But he could not reconcile the labour that I was expending on the country, and, as he expressed it, my indifference to the results. Until I explained to him that what he saw in the Lebanon was but an insignificant fraction of a system of convulsion preparing for the whole universe, against which a solitary and insignificant individual was struggling alone, and who could not therefore bury himself in one of the fragments, without treachery and guilt, a thousand-fold exceeding that of those actively engaged in this conspiracy against the human race.

In the course of the conversation I mentioned an incident as illustrative of the self-collection by the people of their taxes, which I will here set down, as it occurred. Samos, after having been insurrectionized, was restored to the Porte, when the rest of Greece was made independent by the European Powers. And on this occasion all that could be imagined of wisdom, benevolence, and harmony were combined in the institution of a new and better order of things for this patch of ground. This happened fifteen years ago. It was the first time I was admitted to counsels of State, at least in reference to legislating. There was only one point which at the time was not settled according to my wish; and I excited great astonishment amongst those with whom

I had to do, by my journeys up and down the Bosphorus, and the vehemence and earnestness of my representations, as it was no additional liberty that I was calling for, but on the contrary a burden that I wished to have imposed upon the people. Now look at the results. A few months ago, whilst cruising in a small vessel on the coast of Asia Minor, I was captured by pirates from Samos, and by the merest chance escaped with my life. These piracies arose from the ceaseless convulsions of the island upon whom all this wisdom and benevolence had been expended. It was at the time blockaded by Turkish vessels of war, and Turkish troops were assembled to crush the inhabitants. I, however, ran the risk, and having a vessel of my own, broke the blockade, and landed on the extreme southern point. I was presently surrounded by hundreds, and soon by thousands of the population, assuring me that they were not in insurrection; that the Sultan had no more loyal or devoted subjects than they were; and imploring me to return to Constantinople at once, to tell the Sultan that they were in arms to demand a Turkish Pasha for their Governor; for they could no longer exist under the Charter of liberties conferred upon them by the Powers. This Charter was, however, no "Constitution of Chekib Effendi"; it was but an ordinary firman of the Porte, into which had been introduced a new liberty, granted to the people; and it was this new liberty which had been the object of my former opposition. It was this. The tribute

was fixed at 600,000 piastres, the island being left free to impose its taxes as it thought fit. But then came the remission of one third of the tribute back to the island, to pay for local administration. Had merely the tribute to the Porte been specified, the internal state of the island would not have been disturbed. As it was, the general revenue, supplying means for a local organization to the small Princedom, it was induced to attempt to dispense with the popular intervention. The contrary system would have enabled the people at each point, by the necessity of raising the tax, to create some means of governing themselves.

When I had come to the point of the 200,000 piastres remitted on the 600,000, he waved his hand, interrupting me, and said, "I have understood. We need say no more on the system of Chekib Effendi." In Samos the retained portion was but a third; here it is six-sevenths.

Jan. 8th.—Around Cavaja Tobias are arising houses in the style, though not of the same dimensions, as his own. I went to visit one, and was conducted by the whole family over every nook and corner; not a garret or a cupboard was I spared. There was here no market town; it was no place of industry, it was no port, and yet it is, as I was told, the richest spot in all the Mountain. The fortune of Cavaja Tobias is estimated at five millions; piastres it is true, but millions of anything sounds well.

The industry which has furnished this capital has built the other houses. It is as follows:—

He lends to the peasants money at 12 per cent.; the money is paid in grain at twice its worth, and repaid in silk at half its value. This was spoken of coolly as the legitimate traffic; just as the making of eunuchs, or the selling of human flesh in the shambles, in the respective places where these trades are carried on. Then the peasant who cannot pay his debt of 1000 piastres this year, has his bill renewed for 1500; and so on, till his land and house become the property of the so-called merchant. But how has this trade but recently sprung up, when the state of the country is rapidly undergoing impoverishment? This question I put to an Italian surgeon who had been in the service; his answer was, "since the new tariff." The foreign merchants no longer can come to buy, and so the peasant is unable to help himself. "They abuse Ibrahim Pasha," said my own dragoman, "but in his time trade was free, and the honest merchant gained."

Such is the third estate arising, and this too is a gift from Europe.

It was only three hours to sunset when I mounted; the distance to Jouni is five; in passing by Gebail I admired again the polished surfaces of the granite columns, built into the loose stone walls along the road; and was arrested for a moment by the sight of a group of Mussulman women in the tombs,

seated in a circle, and preparing their floral offerings, before proceeding on their special errands. They seemed to have formed a common stock of myrtle boughs and anemonies, which, with their melancholy grey and purple leaves, and black centre tufts, seem formed by nature for the sepulchre; while the white cowled heads and muffled faces gave to these women an air of truth in grief, which doubled my aversion for the black and crape, which, in modern times, amongst us, has disfigured the sentiment of mourning and renders hideous its forms.

The road lay along the coast, and right round the rocky point which encloses the charming bay of Jouni. The sun set as we gained sight of it, and it was dark before we reached the straggling village, which is the Parliamentary capital of the Maronites. After consultation held, as to where we should seek shelter for the night, we went to the "Speaker." The answer was speedy, conclusive, and concise. "He was not in his own house, and could not receive me as I deserved." My interpreter, after delivering it, added, "Thank God, there is a Turk here; let us go to him." Yet only a few days before the Turks were "Bestie." However, the Turk being connected with the Custom House, I too had my antipathies; and there being in the very garden of the house, where the "Speaker" was staying, a khan, where, in a miserable vault coffee was dispensed, I resolved on passing the night there. Presently, however, the master of the house came with an

inexplicable burst of civility, entreating me to return. My disinclination was at last vanquished by his pertinacity, and I was soon installed in the "Speaker's" own apartment. The enigma was then solved. My host's son is Dragoman to Mustafa Pasha.

I had the two chief men of the Megilis to supper: one of them left me very favourably impressed. He was a Priest, Judge of the Maronites, and who, as my host told me, constitutes in himself the whole Megilis.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PATRIARCH.

January 9th.—At last I have witnessed the Turkish Parliament in the land of Phœnicia. I shall speak of what I have seen.

We went to it about 9 A. M. I dreaded to behold tables and chairs, but was relieved. A raised alcove within an arch, fifteen feet by ten, held the members, squatted round; a projection of the platform beyond the arch, might accommodate three more on each side. On the floor in the centre, stood the litigants or suppliants, the opposite part of the room was for the public, and the pipe and coffee bearers; below the platform the slippers of the members were arranged, occupying no inconsiderable portion of the space. There were present nine members; two Druzes, one Suni, one Shiite, one Greek, one united Greek, and one Maronite, which with the President and Secretary made up the number. The appearance of the members, their costume and demeanour, was dignified and sober. The President literally forced me into his place; coffee was served at the expense of the public treasury; I suppose each brought his own tobacco. The proceedings

opened by thanking me for coming, and business was then commenced.

The first case was that of a merchant, who, having been ruined by the French revolution, was unable to pay his creditors; one of them, an Armenian Saraff, claiming 20,000 piastres, and having a mortgage on his lands, sought to take them for the debt. The lands were worth 36,000, the whole debts were 50,000; the bankrupt alleged that the debts owing to him, would cover his obligations: the Pasha had written, requiring the mortgage of the Saraff to be foreclosed. After going through the case, a letter was written to the Pasha, stating that the mortgage was for a debt, and that if the land was taken by the Saraff, it must be at a due valuation, he paying the surplus to the other creditors.

The second case was between a widow and her brother-in-law. The husband had left a will, to the effect that his land should go to his wife and children. At the time of making it, he had no children; the woman stated that half the land had been bought by her money; the brother-in-law asked in what coin it had been paid. She answered, by her Tantour, her bracelets, and her belt. A third part of a man's property can alone be disposed of by will. It was decided that the land and house should be between the two, and that the brother-in-law should be guardian of his nieces, and responsible to the court for them. The woman, addressing the President, said, "You have given me a mate I did not

want; if he treats me ill, I will come and stay with you."

The third was an intricate one, respecting a water-course between two villages. Then followed two minor matters, in which the parties were told to settle the difference between themselves, and this brought us to the hour of dinner, or rather breakfast.

After each case had been heard, "El Houri," the priest, dictated to the secretary the sentence. When read out, it was on each occasion received with, "Azim, azim," well, well! It was then passed round for each to append his signet, and delivered to the plaintiff, a copy being registered in a great book. I inquired what happened when they were not all agreed; they could not understand the question. They said, the Shayriat (precedents) would be examined, and the matter would be revised, and they would agree: forcing them to the extreme case, their answer was, "If we cannot agree, there can be no decision." How much there is here that is pure Anglo-Saxon, will not fail to strike the lawyer and the antiquary.

I need not say that I was wholly unprepared for anything like this. I had perused the regulation of Chekib Effendi, and had the idea of difference of laws between Christians and Mussulmans, as in the other portions of the Ottoman Empire, where the Greeks have the code of Justinian. I looked on the Megilis, as it was the intention of the new system to make it, that is, an impracticable body. As great

then was my surprise as my satisfaction to find in it an Indian Punchayet, or a Saxon Jury. I speak not now of its constitution on paper, or of the consequences to be hereafter realised, but of its present operation. The habits of the people have supplied the defects of the written scheme, and it serves to administer speedy justice at their doors, instead of sending litigants to Beyrout or Damascus, or leaving the poor at the mercy of the Sheik, the Emir, or the usurer.

How six different rites and faiths can thus combine, when such social distinctions exist, as between Mussulman and Christian, and such animosity as between Greek and Latin, may appear incomprehensible: but here there is one tongue, one costume, one form of ceremony, and one law. The abstinence from theoretic interference, and the religious toleration of the Government, have smoothed down asperities, and present, in this instance, a singular illustration of its own character. It has achieved, not by science or design, but by that character a result, which, while anticipating the philosophic desires, has baffled the administrative efforts of the West.

The Houri, in the course of the evening, gave me a very interesting account of its proceedings, and its effect on the country. He commended the Mussulman law. The introduction of that law has given to the Megilis the form of a Turkish tribunal; the cadi decides, the notables are assessors, witness the proceedings, and, as such, append their seals. This

is the *hic testibus* which preceded the names appended to the ancient proceedings of Parliament. In the Megilis there are six nations combined; each has its judge, and the others act as assessors. It has also to partition the impost, and to decide in cases arising out of its collection, and in all complaints against agents of Government. Here the members are all equal; Chekib Effendi instituted the decision by majority, but no case of voting has as yet arisen. These are, however, functions, beyond the scope of their feeble constitution; and fortunately, the Messaa will take the charge of the first entirely out of their hands, and thereby greatly alleviate the burden of the second.

Cases come before them only when sent by the Caimacan, or when both the parties make submission, when they are, in truth, an arbitration court.

I had as yet had no opportunity of conversing with any of the people of the Mountain on the tariff, and now that I found a capable person, I was restrained: first, not to lose his observations on the matters with which he was familiar; and secondly, because I felt the subject to be foreign to his pursuits. I found, however, that he required not my invitation, and that instead of having to inform him, I had to learn from him. We were on the subject of imposts, and I was saying something respecting the smallness of the sum they paid, when he interrupted me as follows: "I expect to hear such things from Pashas and Mutzelim, but I am surprised to hear

them from you. No country in the world, or at least no part of the Ottoman Empire, is oppresed with taxes as we are. We have no grain, no pasturage, no flocks; none of the ordinary resources of any other people; we live entirely by the things we sell. The trade was formerly free; the country is devastated by civil war; it relapses to the Sultan; his government undertake to be more than just to it; they are kind, they spare it, they proclaim their intention, they take credit for their acts; and these are, to leave it unburdened and to administer to its necessities and wants. In face of all this, they impose on the very articles, by which alone we live, taxes the most oppressive that ever were heard of, and which take out of our pockets *five times* the amount of the tribute, for the repartition of which such a piece of work is at present made."

He then proceeded to enumerate the items. Those connected with the foreign trade have been already given in speaking of Saïda and Tripoli. But only one half of the silk of the Mountain finds its way to the ports in the west; 100,000 okes go to Damascus, and a portion to Aleppo and to Egypt by land. At Damascus the silk pays on entry 30 piastres the rotol, equal to 15 per cent; after it is manufactured, it is again charged, at the rate of 5 piastres on the piece of mixed silk and cotton of the value of from 50 to 70 piastres, and in which the silk may be worth 20 to 30 piastres, which is equal to from 15 to 20 per cent. This manufactured

stuff comes back to the Mountain, making them pay 30 per cent on their own produce before they can wear it. Then follows that pressure on the peasant which throws him into the hands of the usurer; or he ceases to produce, or the produce does not advance as it otherwise would; for the field is still extensive, and the restoration of tranquillity invited to, and promised, and but for these ruinous measures would have ensured, an enormous increase of production. Before these new measures, our silk paid a duty of import at Damascus of 1½ per cent, which was raised by Ibrahim Pasha to 6 piastres the rotal. There was no other. Silk now pays, in the various forms and ways in which it leaves the country, 15, 30, and 47 per cent, and the whole charge which we lie under is not less than 10,000 purses and may be 12,000 (£60,000). The Government, it is true, does not receive this, but we pay it not the less: much is smuggled, and much is expended in custom-house guards and customers' profits, for they do not farm for nothing. It would be more straightforward and profitable for the Government to tax us at once that sum on our possessions; at all events, let us have done with this story of our being the lightest taxed of people.

"But this is not all. The vexations of a custom-house you are accustomed to in Europe, and think nothing of; to us they are intolerable. A muleteer brings some goods from Beyrout; he is stopped at the gate by some Albanians, who know not a word

of his language, and who cannot read to see if the packages are in conformity with his permit. He gets through this: after three or four hours journey he is stopped by a negro. He gets on to Gazir; he is stopped again by an Arnaut: if nothing worse happens, one or two days are lost in inspecting and relading. The women are searched, and things most unbearable happen: discontent then increases to disaffection. Again, a peasant cannot now take his eggs or butter, or anything else, to sell in the cities, without being stopped, searched, and made to pay. Even for the shoes on their feet, men have been made to pay by these guards and customers. There are here many who look to European Governments; and no wonder." I observed that the Turkish Government was anticipating their wishes. There were many, he said, who were aware of the truth, though of course the causes were beyond the observation of the people: but no one had the thought even of making an attempt to rectify the evil; every such idea is stopped by the very word, "*English tariff.*"

This afternoon I took a stroll up to the Lazarist College of Antoura, and it being late before I got back, the jackal's howl rung dismally around. An interpreter named Daoud, whom I had engaged at Bekfaya, was with me. I said to him, "I must silence these jackals," and, unwinding my kefieh, took off and turned my cap inside out, and put it on again: that instant all was still. I was as startled as if I had seen a ghost; he turned pale and stared

at me, as if I had been one. We stood there ten minutes, but not a sound was to be heard.

It would have been curious if I had by accident thought of turning my cap, and at that moment all the jackals had ceased their cry, but there is much more. Some months ago I was put into quarantine at Scala Nova, for having, not voluntarily, communicated with pirates; but was allowed to continue my cruise along the coasts of Asia Minor, taking a guardian on board; he was called Achmet. Landing below Ephesus, I walked up to the ruins, accompanied by Achmet, and a Greek lad from Chesmé, named Miltiades; being in quarantine we three were put in a naked outhouse to sleep. The howling of the jackals was frightful, and I was anticipating a sleepless night, when Miltiades requested me to be quite at ease on that score, as he had an infallible recipe for quieting jackals. We amused ourselves at the credulity of the Greek; he listened for a time, very complacently; and then with, "You will see," commenced the operation with which I this afternoon astonished myself and Daoud. The instant that the cap of Miltiades was turned, the howling ceased, nor did it recommence all that night.*

Afterwards, at Bournabat, amidst a gathering of ghost stories, I narrated mine of the jackals. Mr. Whittle said he had often heard the same thing, and mentioned a circumstance which had happened to

* The Scandinavian protection against witchcraft is turning the shirt.

himself, premising that he should not do so unless two gentlemen who had witnessed it with himself had been still alive and within reach for reference; one of these was Mr. Borrel, the celebrated antiquarian, the name of the other I have forgotten.*

January 10th.—Proceeded to Kirko, the residence of the Patriarch, a monastery overlooking Jounie, and reached by a very steep and rocky path. The day was oppressively hot; I do not know what they do in June and July. The Patriarch was in silks and sables; his dress was such as may be seen in the old drawings of Turkish costume, as that of Grand Vizir, only the turban was higher and narrower, and dark blue instead of white. The Benish, or outer robe, which is lined with sables, with the deep border falling over the shoulders and down the front, was purple, the autery (inner vestment) crimson. He occupied a long apartment composed of three intersections of arches or vaults, with divans at the top and sides filling the intervals; the upper part had a mat on the lime floor; the walls were bare whitewash; the divans covered with common carpets. The only thing not in the rudest fashion was the silk shilteh cushions at the top corner, which he occupied, and one at the corner opposite. The top of the room was vacant; down the sides the seats were thronged; at the bottom a crowd of attendants were

* The story is omitted in the Diary, and space left for its insertion. I do not insert it now, as I may not be able to recall it precisely. It was quite as incredible as the story told in the text.

standing. As men are in the East the furniture of the house, this locale, fit with us only for a stable, or a barn, had a lordly air, such as in our countries has not been seen since feudal times; the ceremonial of approaching the chief of their church might have led a stranger to doubt whether he was not in presence of a dignitary of the Celestial Empire.

The Patriarch is of the ancient house of Cazem, who have for a course of years, which they claim to extend to the early days of Mahomet, governed Kesroan. He is a man of about fifty, tall, well made, and with a remarkably benevolent expression; a character which also exhibited itself in the small matters which I had occasion to observe. I had intended sleeping at the Lazarist monastery of Antoura, and had sent on my things, but he insisted on my staying the night; an invitation which I was nothing loath to accept, for though the conversation was of the most fragmentary description with the Patriarch, I was glad to see more of the manner of the place; and he made up for his own taciturnity by giving me in charge to Mottran Boulos (Bishop Paul) his Vicar General, a young bishop who had been educated at Rome, and of whom I had already heard as one of the ablest men in the country. We soon got into the subjects connected with their ancient history, ethnographic, religious, and administrative. His favour I at once acquired, by telling him that I was satisfied of the utter falsehood and absurdity of the statement respecting them of William the old Bishop of Tyre,

and quite agreed with Narion, in tracing their name to their resistance to, not their adoption of, the Monothelite heresy.

Supper was announced, the pipes and nargillés were removed. The Patriarch rose and led the way; the party then followed each in the turn of his place. We came into a long vault like the first, down which was set a European table, covered with a cloth, but the dishes upon it, such as they use, fringed with the deep border of puff bread and scons, which they heap round their trays. Slender benches were the accommodation around, but at the top was a more dignified seat for the Patriarch, covered with a carpet. He took me beside himself. It being fast day several "fat" dishes were prepared for me, but the space being already occupied they had to be placed on the top of the other plates; and as I selected their "lean" fare, the Patriarch on the one side, and Bishop Paul on the other, supplied me with dishes entire or in morsels, and I had to spread a marcook on my knee, to serve like Virgil's table, and be eaten up with its contents.

Those who were assembled at this board were not Bishops and Priests only, or Princes and Chiefs only; all without exception found a place. As the hasty meal was finished, each rose to make room for the other. Before the Patriarch moved, the guests, including the servants and the mendicants at the door, had been changed several times. As among the Mussulmans, all were welcome because of their need,

and in presence of "the gift of God," all were equal. Formerly, when feudal hospitality reigned with feudal state, and all sat down at the Hall board, grades of food and beverage marked the grades of place; humble, and sometimes scanty fare, alone reached the nether region. Here the meat and drink was the same for all, and the distinctions of degree observed in the Hall, disappeared at the table. I was particularly struck with the Vicar General preparing for me the broiled morsels and laying them before me. If there was any thing in their usages, from which an ordinary man educated in Europe, would have shrunk, it would have been this; but he evidently took pride in exhibiting his entire relapse into his country's manners.

When afterwards, in reply to some expressions of the Patriarch regarding their homely life, I expressed my gratification at witnessing truly patriarchal manners, pointed to the divisions of European society as the consequence of their extinction amongst us, and added a word of hope that the contact with Europe would not cause them to be ashamed of them, or to depart from them, the Vicar General said; "It will be an evil day for us when we cease to take pride in them, and it is precisely those who have been amongst you, who know their worth."

Two children of the Beit Habesh, one of the most ancient of the Maronites are at the Patriarchate. They had been romping in the passage before my

room, but presented themselves at the divan with all the gravity of Venetian senators, in gay clothing of pink and light blue bordered with silver lace; having made their obeisance they took their place, and were saluted all round as if they had been patriarchs of their house: the youngest did not appear to be above five years of age, though he was nearly ten.

Jan. 10*th.*—I spent the early part of the morning with the Vicar General, and we soon got engaged again in history. I inadvertently excited his indignation, by applying the word Arab to them. "Arab," said he, "means savage. Mahomet made something of them for a time, but he despised them; soon after they fell into discord among themselves, and from that time are known only as tyrants. They consequently lost this fine Empire, and ceasing to be the masters of others, have themselves become slaves; but, wherever they ruled, they have left evil behind them. We, the Mirdites or Moarni, were the first obstacle to their progress; and, being betrayed by the bastard Greeks, were the first victims of their tyranny. They (the Arabs) attacked us in the most tender part, our tongue, and our recollections; they drove out our language, and we are now called by others, and often known among ourselves, by their name. We are *Sourians*. This is our country, and it bears our name. The Syriac is an older language than the Hebrew, and the Assyrians, from whom we descend, were the first of the great

people of the earth. The Syriac is still our sacred language; now, indeed, the church is the only depositary of these ancient treasures, but even within the memory of man the Syriac has been spoken in these countries. For these reasons, the Mountain has always been favourable to the Turks, who were tolerant in matters of faith; and so far from attempting to impose their tongue on any other people, took care to exhibit the contrast between themselves and the Arabs, by using an interpreter as part of the ceremonial of administration, even when the Pasha or Governor could speak Arabic."

I think he might have claimed more than a descent from the Assyrian, but of this hereafter.

For the gratification which I had derived from this exposition, I made to my interlocutor, ample return, in exposing to him the plagiaristic nature of that so-called Arab system, from which they had suffered; but which only brought into more striking evidence, the wonderful genius of that one man, who had so emphatically declared himself not "of the people" he lived amongst, struggled with, brought under, and ruled over.

I then asked the Vicar General to what he attributed the occupation by the Turks, of the seat vacated by the Arabs. Pondering, as if reflecting thereon for the first time, he was ready to refer their success to the impetus of their warlike mass. But I prevented the conversation from perishing in that way, by interposing a few statistics, and so bringing

it back again, on the field of thought; when he suggested—their possessing the law of Mahomet, without the character of the Arabs. Accepting these positions so far as they went, I then suggested, to his infinite gratification, the difference produced by the structure of the Arabic and the Turkish verb, the one being weak, the other philosophical; so that the Turks were taciturn, and the Arabs, like the Greeks, loquacious. He at once made the application in its fullest extent, rendering it in its simplest form, in these words: "Of course a loquacious man, can neither be trusted nor respected." This led to the effects of "the Press" on Europe. He said, "Is not the daily printing and the daily reading, equivalent to a universal loquacity?" and was not slow to apprehend the insinuated sense in the words of the Editor of a London Journal, which I repeated to him: "Sir, if you could write the history of the Press, you might yet save England." The loquacity of each person is one thing, and quite enough to ruin any Empire where it is a habit; but what is that to a loquacity, impersonal, printed and universal?

On a hill above this place and separated from it by a deep valley, is the Lazarist establishment and seminary of Antoura. I reached it in about an hour, and was pressed by the Superior to stay that night, as I might not find a resting place at Nahar el Kelb. He was amiable and homely, and given up to the details of his occupation. He spoke of Father Amayana, as one whose word was received without

reply. The Patriarch he represented as a man of exceeding kindness of heart; the Vicar General as the only priest or prelate of sound learning. He is never to be seen in the divan; if you want him, you must go to his room, and then are not admitted without difficulty.

The school was bald or worse. Thirty-six children of between ten and fifteen assembled in the refectory, where they sat on benches, ate at a table, pulled off their caps and made a clatter, such as I have not seen even in France: they had also a dispensation from following the Maronite rite, and fasted according to the rule of Rome. These would go home with every habit changed, all respect lost, and in compensation possessing a foreign tongue, which can be of no possible use for persons in their station. The American Missionaries are at least logical; their object is to break up existing things. They carry on a war, deadly though insidious: proselytism is the end, "European influence" the means. They untwine the retaining cords, and wear away the bonds and chains of wont and usage. This is their scheme, and it is the only one they could employ. There are no other means, say they, of approaching these benighted souls. They see in these lands but infidelity under the garb of fanaticism, but barbarism shrouded in empty ceremony. They are the apostles, at once of faith and civilization, and have to cut away the roots of all existing things. But the Catholics, how do they

stand? They hold the Maronite as the most docile of churches; the people as the most primitive and pious of all those who acknowledge the religious supremacy of Rome. Here no heresy has ever disturbed conscience, no local pretensions submerged authority. They see in the Maronite, piety and faith conjoined with primitive simplicity, and yet they adopt the same course! The one or the other must be completely mistaken. The Roman church is assailed in the customs of this people, and that church, with 10,000 times the means of their rivals, is engaged in subverting those customs. "In twenty years," said Father Amayana, "every thing which gives value to this country will have disappeared: in the pursuit of a vague and unknown something *out of themselves*, they will have thrown away the chance of making something of themselves." True indeed, the words of Father Amayana are without reply.

The Superior here, to hear him, was on earth the man most deploring his own handiwork. None could look on Europe with more pity or contempt, or on this country with more sorrow. To *hear* him, he was the very man to send to the Lebanon to reform the Catholic colleges, and to shew the instructors that it was not necessary to pull about a child's clothes to teach him the alphabet, or to cause him to scoff at his parents in order to learn the use of the globes. I did not go into the classes; I had had quite enough in seeing the children at their

dinner, and parading like soldiers through the corridors. The education seems of the poorest order, and in so far presented a favourable contrast with the establishment at Gazir. Disappointed as I had been with the Jesuits, I now recognized their superiority; and perhaps if they were known here, as they were formerly in Germany, as the "Spanish Fathers," that is, if Spaniards instead of Frenchmen were employed in the missions of the Lebanon, the old Iberian instinct might be touched by the ancient, the graceful, the beautiful, the simple things of Canaan.

Jan. 11th.—From Antoura to Nahar el Kelb is an hour. You come suddenly on the river, which has cut its deep and tortuous bed through a stratum of limestone, the grey faces of which are fringed with terraces of mulberries. You descend abruptly to the river, then follow on the right side a bend of its course till you come in sight of the sea, and there it is crossed by an antique bridge. The water is conducted on levels along both banks for mills, and the irrigation of the mulberry plantations, which are extensive, and supply the country all around with young plants: we constantly met loads of them on the road. Before reaching the bridge, you pass close under the arches of an ancient aqueduct, which supports the canal against the face of the rock. On crossing the bridge you come on the first of those records, which have rendered this spot famous. It is a slab, 10 feet long by four deep

cut on a large stone, and bearing an Arabic inscription, so eaten by time as to be illegible. At a short distance there is a Latin inscription, recording the widening of the road. You then reach the mouth of the river, and the road, turning to the left, ascends over the rocky, but not precipitous point. Here my expectations were aroused for the cuttings in the unknown tongues: the first appeared to be Egyptian; there was nothing in relief, and the figures had been incised. Close by were two figures in relief, about the natural size, indubitably Assyrian. Proceeding some hundred yards, and at the highest point of the pass, were two pedestals, one on the outer side of the road, the other on the hill side, but not facing each other, or in any way corresponding. On one of these must have stood the wolf, whence the river derived its ancient name, Lycos; or the name of the river suggested the emblem, which in its decay must have been seen by the Arabs, when they changed it to "dog." Hitherto there had been no trace of letters save Arabic and Roman; but here, not on the side of the road, but among the rocks above it, two inscriptions of a more promising kind were visible. On climbing up, an Assyrian monarch revealed himself, with the head and head-dress almost perfect: the lower portion was covered with cuneiform letters, running across the field, and the garments: 36 lines could be made out, but too much worn to be copied, except where the border on the west had

protected the stone. Close by, was another effaced Egyptian bas-relief, and higher up another Assyrian one.

These monuments indicate the importance of this pass. This post occupied, an army proceeding northward or southward along the coast would have to fall back and penetrate into the heart of the country, and go eastward of the Lebanon to pursue its march. It is true that there are no insuperable barriers; but there is an interminable series of rugged chains, presenting the greatest obstacles to an invader, and everywhere natural defences for his enemy.

This point forms the northern horn of the bay of Beyrout, which with its country houses glittering in white on the side of the hill, looked, in the morning sun, a commanding city. The distance is three hours, almost entirely along the sandy beach, until at the lazaretto, we struck inwards through the gardens. On the beach lay the wreck of a brig, which went on shore the night I got so opportunely housed at Patroun.

For a few weeks I intended taking up my residence at Beyrout, to follow the Provincial Megilis.

I had now visited the Lebanon from east to west, and north to south. There scarcely remained a third-rate chief whom I had not seen, nor a district, with the affairs of which I had not become familiar. I had made the acquaintance in the way of administrative business, whilst every political bias was laid

bare by the pending transactions relating to the Hungarian refugees. I turned away from them with a conclusively made up mind, on two points. Never was a country for which God had done so much, nor a people who could do less for themselves.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT—AN IMPEACHMENT —PUBLIC LANDS.

I CAME to the water-gate of Beyrout, but turned back to go round to the next gate, as close to it is a bath; and I know no greater luxury than landing there at once. On turning the horses heads, we were mistaken by the customers for departing travellers, were rudely seized, and had nearly had the loads pulled to the ground, before I made them understand that we were arriving, not departing. There the harpies stood ready, with poking wire in hand, and were digging into pack-saddles as if they had been Frenchmen. I added my malediction to the muttered curse of the poor and the peasant; but this they were too familiar with, to heed. It is something to record that the sufferers were indignant. What a contrast with the people inhabiting the lands which the Octroi brands with its loathsome stamp of abjectness and idiocy. And these slaves too can barricade streets, make revolutions, upset one day a Dynasty, and to-morrow a Republic, without so much as the idea of freeing themselves from one single thread of the cobweb of subjection, and without any effect, save an additional entanglement of

contemptible thoughts from every convulsion, and an additional load of taxation and oppression from every manifestation of their power.

Restored to equanimity and comfort by the bath, I was conducted to the house of Emin Effendi, and found myself suddenly in the middle of Europe; so much at least as can be made of it, by upholsterers, tailors, silversmiths, and the furnishing out of a not unwelcome supper table.

13*th*.—I paid a visit in the morning to the Pasha, whom I had not seen when before at Beyrout, but to whom I was indebted for civilities during my trip. The hour of the Megilis having come, he invited me to accompany him. They were this day engaged, as they are three days in every week, with proceedings in the form of impeachment against Feti Aga, former Divan Effendi of this Ayalet or province. This functionary stands towards the Pasha, as the Grand Vizir does to the Sultan. Feti Aga had filled the office under the successive Pashas from the time of the Egyptians. He had managed them all, and made himself necessary to each, by knowing how to pull the strings of the various Marionettes of plain, city, and mountain; turning knowledge into power, and power into money. Not one person who did not speak of him as an artful villain, not one who did not stand in fear of him. Yet he cannot read his own tongue, and cannot speak the Turkish.

This trial has already lasted two months, occupy-

ing one half of the working time of the Council. It is the first of the sort that has taken place. The Court is constituted by a union of members by popular election with Government functionaries. This Mussulman delinquent is subjected to the decision of the Christian merchants of the province which he has despoiled; and beside them, sit the Judges of Islam.

The proceedings commenced under the present Pasha, who suddenly displaced him by an act of authority, and without waiting a reply from Constantinople threw him into prison. The Porte appointed the Megilis of Beyrout to try the case, giving to it extended powers. The accused refused to plead before it, alleging that it was composed of his enemies, and was under the control of the Pasha, who was his accuser; and demanded to be tried at Constantinople. The Porte refused his demand, on the ground that the facts could only be ascertained on the spot; while, to protect him from partiality, other members were added. Izzet Pasha the military commander, Osman Bey (son of the former Grand Vizir, Rouf Pasha); and Emin Effendi was appointed President with a double vote. With this modification he acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Megilis.

On entering we found the Megilis assembled. The upper part of the room was lined by a divan in the form of a bracket. In the centre was a small round table; at each corner of the divan was a

large arm-chair, and below all, round narrow European sofas and chairs. The Pasha took his place at the upper of the two corners of the divan, Emin Effendi at the lower, the divan between was occupied by the Mufti, the ex-Mufti, the Cadi, the Defterdar, the military commander, and the other functionaries. The arm-chair next to the Pasha was taken by Osman Bey, I was placed in the opposite one. Round the room were seated the delegates of the Mussulman and Christian populations; at the table sat the secretary and interpreter. As soon as salutations were over, and we were seated, coffee was served and pipes brought. The Pasha then commenced with some observations on the conflict of administrative and judicial functions, and I was asked for some explanations in reference to our practice. The prisoner was then introduced, and placed on a chair near the door. I never saw a more forbidding countenance; it was not European, but Calmuck; and then I found that he was ignorant of the Turkish language, and of every tincture of learning, even to the signature of his name. But I soon had evidence of the dexterity which had made him formidable, despite the grossness of his uncultured nature.

The Pasha proceeding with his charges, now at some length, made one of insubordination, alleging that in a certain affair he had acted in opposition to his orders, and had openly expressed contempt for his authority. The prisoner first hedged

himself behind his ignorance of the Turkish, forced repeated explanation, and required the reduction of statements to writing; after having so spun out the day, and when he was pushed into a corner, and a reply required, he merely said, "Let the Megilis read all the documents connected with the business, and when it has done so, if it thinks an answer necessary, I will give it;" and there he left them, and there he was left. Next came a charge of malversation and extortion from an inhabitant of the town. The prisoner produced a receipt; the witness alleged that it had been signed under constraint. The Megilis ruled that it had been so, and then remitted the case to the parties for private accommodation. They protected indeed the interests of the witness, but sacrificed the ends of justice; for they allowed the proved charge to fall as regarded the criminal proceedings in which they were engaged.

They had, however, first gone to a "division" as to whether it should or should not be sent before the ordinary courts. The latter was carried by a majority of one, the Cadi and the Mufti both voting against the reference to their own court, and Emin Effendi waiving his second vote as President, which would have made not a "tie" only but an indissoluble knot, for there would then have remained no Speaker's or Chairman's casting vote to solve it.

The incongruity of the constitution and functions of this body flows necessarily from the attempted union of administrative and judicial powers in an

assembly conjointly nominated by the people and by the executive. However, the absence of legislation, and the fixation of imposts according to which the expenditure is regulated, in lieu of that ruinous and fallacious system introduced in modern times in Europe, of making the expenditure optional, and then imposing taxes arbitrarily to meet it, facilitate its operations. Take the Witenagemot of the Saxons, or the Parliament of the Normans, as it existed perhaps down to the time of Henry VII., and certainly to that of Henry IV., and you will have an approximation to this Megilis; that is, a conjoint assembly of high functionaries and popular delegates; in the presence and with the assent of which, the Crown dispensed justice, and administered the country. Then, as in Turkey, the resources of the Government were fixed, and also its ordinary expenditure; so that the Parliament was engaged neither with budget, nor with ways and means. No laws were then made, so that legislative functions were unknown; and as the administration of Government was nothing but the Government of the country, that is, the administration of justice, the divergency of these two branches did not exist. There was neither conflict in their operations, nor contradiction in their character. With us, however, the delegates represented real constituencies, which were small but supreme Senates.

But while I allow no weight to these theoretical and preliminary objections, I entertain others of a prac-

tical kind, of which I shall specify but two: the absence of mode of procedure in judicial matters, and the want, both of limit and authority, in administrative ones.

The first objection need not be dilated on, after the proceedings of this day. It was not the dispositions to do well that were wanting. As to character, fairness, and deportment, the scene made upon me the most favourable impression. Had there but been an order of procedure the ends of justice would have been obtained. These were prostrated by the dexterity of an able criminal, through means afforded him by the mere disorder of the proceedings. A public accusation labours under this difficulty in Mussulman countries, that there is not, and cannot be, a public prosecutor, as there are no lawyers. But this may be removed as it was in Rome, and as in the case of impeachment it is (that is to say was) in England. That is, by delegating, on the part of the injured community, its powers and rights to be represented by its grand jury before the Supreme Court. As to the administrative branch, the matter is more complex.

The Megilis, in ordinary, is composed of sixteen members and eighteen votes. The President (2 votes), the Pasha, Cadi, Mufti, Defterdar, Mahl Kiatibi (registrar), Taherat Kiatibi (secretary general), and an Assessor, a mollah of the first rank. These are the public functionaries, six being the high officers of the province, and the two others, the President and

Assessor, sent from Constantinople to represent the two powers—as always practised by the Porte, even in military operations—the Spiritual and the Temporal. The representatives of the place are, in like manner, eight; four Mussulmans, one from each of the three principal Christian communities, and one from the Jewish. It sits two days a week for judicial, and four days for administrative business. For the latter it is composed only of the popular representatives and the two officers of the Porte, unless it calls for the presence of the Pasha, or any of the other functionaries. Their decisions are addressed to the Pasha, and are called *Masbata*, which he can receive only when signed by all the permanent members, that is the ten. Their reports to the grand council at Constantinople, or *Akiam Adlieh*, must bear the signatures of the whole sixteen. For matters in which reasons of State are involved there is a reserved council of four, composed of the President, the Pasha, Defterdar, and Mollah Assessor; it is not optional with them to reserve any matter for this secret council; it assembles only on instructions from the Porte. The President, Pasha, and Defterdar have severally the faculty of private correspondence with the council of the Porte, and of incriminating their colleagues, the council having the option of instituting thereon judicial proceedings, or of arranging the matter otherwise.

The Megilis has complete authority over every branch of law, criminal, civil, and commercial. It

virtually possesses the power of life and death; it overrules the judgments in civil matters of the Cadi, acting as a court of appeal; and it institutes, as the occasion requires, courts of arbitration in cases of litigation between merchants, natives, or foreigners.

In capital cases it exposes the grounds on which it finds a verdict; which, being submitted to the "Akiam Adlieh," is by that court confirmed, and becomes a sentence of death. Minor punishments are inflicted, by their Masbata addressed to the Pasha. In civil cases, between private individuals, they intervene only on appeal from the Cadi's decision; but the Cadi himself, in grave cases, transfers them to the Megilis. Judging them there; his decision is then final. They entertain all litigations arising between private persons or communities with the officers of the revenue or the farmers of taxes, and in all these cases there is no appeal.

Their administrative authority is not less extensive, although less absolute, than their judicial; but the body itself here undergoes an extraordinary change. The administrators of the province are excluded from all participation in the votes, though they may take part in the discussion: the body is then restricted to the two delegates from Constantinople, who, in every respect, are independent of the Pasha, and the delegates of the people, who have eight members; the community is absolutely in possession of its own administration. This branch, which occupies two-thirds of their time, includes,

1. Finance and superintendance of public servants; 2. Sale of revenue paid in kind; 3. Management of public buildings; 4. Public works; 5. Quarantine; 6. Police, and correspondence with the Akiam Adlieh.

The Defterdar has the finances, but can act only with the prior assent of the Megilis. The Megilis has in this respect no functions purely financial, as we now understand the word; as in Turkey, by the original and religious constitution, the taxes are permanently fixed. The derogation from that law by the English commercial Treaty does not affect the Megilis, as it would equally tie up the hands of any deliberative body. It is not then that they are deprived of a power, which our free institutions possess; but that they have realized the end which we have failed to obtain. The voting of supplies, in other words the imposing of taxes, being withdrawn, their financial functions are limited to the superintendence of the collection, so as to protect the people from oppression and the Treasury from loss. The Treasury indeed, receives directly little or nothing from this province, its receipts being absorbed by its disbursements; which amount to about £300,000 per annum. The arrears fall little short of a year's revenue.

One of the chief financial duties of the Megilis, is to decide on the cases it involves. They superintend the management of the Government lands, which are very considerable. Every sum of money

as received is notified to them, and they keep an account current, which each month is collated with that of the Defterdar, and the balance sheet made up. The Defterdar's signature is not valid for any payment unless counter-signed by the President of the Megilis.

A large portion of the revenue is paid in kind: these, consisting of wheat, barley, Indian corn, cotton, sesame, oil, butter, &c. the Government stores. The Megilis has to decide on their sale, which is effected by auction, in their presence. In like manner, they sell the customs and other farms.

The Pasha has the management of the administrative department, and has hitherto filled all the offices at pleasure, and displaced in like manner. He still retains the power of naming the functionaries, but cannot now displace the humblest of them, without submitting his reasons to the Megilis and obtaining their Masbata.

In every branch, in every affair, they decide; nothing is legal without their decision, and the minuteness of their inspection may be judged of from this; that the police of the town, receive their monthly salary in the very room in which they sit. To them, likewise, are submitted projects which have regard to the culture of lands, the construction of manufactories, the making of roads, the construction of bridges, the opening of ports; and their favourable report is a preliminary step to the discussion, or

entertaining of any proposal proceeding from parties beyond the pale of the administration.

There are about thirty minor Megilis established throughout the province, who in like manner, control the representatives of the Pasha, and correspond with that of Beyrout. Thus, if it is a question of the selling of the farms of revenue or of produce, the local Megilis has to report on the tenders and the prices, and it is only with these reports before them, that the chief Megilis can dispose of either. But the Megilis do not communicate with each other: that of Beyrout addresses itself only to the Pasha, the others to his representatives; and by him or them, as the case may be, the report of the one is communicated to the other.

The Central Council of Constantinople is composed solely of functionaries or ex-functionaries, named and paid by the Government: it has entire control nominally over the Megilis of Beyrout. It has been devised as a check on the local body, but it will fail to prove so in effect, if ever such control is required; while it may, by want of activity, by deficiency of knowledge, capriciousness of temper, or those erratic movements of the spirit or the brain, called "reasons of state," paralyze the local body, or chill and dishearten them, by leaving their difficulties without a solution, and their applications without reply.

Hitherto, indeed, no such occasion has arisen. The system has been simultaneously put in operation

in Roumelia, Anatolia, and Arabia; the provincial cities selected for the trial have been Adrianople, Broussa and Beyrout. In the two others, conflict with the Central Council has arisen: here the Megilis has been complimented by a Vizerial letter for its conduct in respect to the tumult at Tripoli, when, without instructions or authority, it sent Izzet Pasha with a couple of battalions to capture the ringleaders, requiring him, if necessary, to fire upon the town.

It will be seen that all power is taken out of the hands of the Pasha. The Megilis is not his Council; he is only one of its members, and its President is his rival. It seems, then, that the point has been passed where a check was desirable over the Pasha, and that now, the danger lies in the Megilis: not that this will at present be felt, for the habits acquired under the old system still subsist. Certain it is, that no people ever had so large and so direct a part in their own government; and that in their new system, every difficulty connected with differences of religion, in the country, where such feelings are most embittered, have been entirely overcome.

The system runs two risks: the one of breaking up, by rivalry between the two functionaries, the Pasha and the President; the other, of breaking down under the amount of labour. In pointing out these dangers, I indicate the remedy; the leaving independent authority to the Pasha in the adminis-

trative department, limiting that of the Megilis in the judicial department, and so enabling it to give its full care to the financial department.

The system of Pashas has worked well for Turkey; under it a smaller population has ruled a larger Empire for a longer time than under any other in ancient or modern times, the Roman republic, whose provincial administration was identical, not excepted. The dignity of the Pasha is the corner-stone of the edifice, and it is not wise to touch it. The abuse lay, in the cumulation of offices in his hands. The late Sultan withdrew from them the military power, through the distinct organization of the army. The criminal jurisdiction and the farming of revenue had then to be withdrawn, to restore the original institution. If from them is also to be taken the civil government, the office had better be abolished. It is, however, but an experiment now made, and I trust the result will be to learn the virtue of the adage, *stare super vias antiquas.*

Syria was the first of countries overrun, it is the only one from which the population has ever been, *en masse,* driven forth; it has continued ever since subject to devastations, and the field and object of more intense struggles than any other. There is at present no portion of the Empire to which it belongs, equally destitute of the habits of self-government; and with the exception of Egypt, since the days of Mehemet Ali, no portion of the subjects of Turkey

have been similarly deprived of their rights of property. These two causes combined, have brought upon it a peculiar pressure of administration, which it has itself corrupted. Its case has proved so exceptional that the general firmans issued under the new system have never been applied. Syria is the Ireland of Turkey. In selecting it as the field of the new constitutional experiments, to the difficulties of a general nature are superadded special ones of its own; the latter class are the gravest of the two.

One of the consequences of these long disorders is that an enormous proportion of the land has become Government property, or *Beylic*. The management of this property adds greatly to the burdens of the Megilis.

The farmers of these lands become tax-gatherers, and form a body, independent alike of the civil government, and of the financial system. Yet the revenue is based upon their contracts, and is thus dependent on them. They purchase the farm, at short terms, and have therein no personal interest. Buildings, mills, trees, and water-courses for irrigation, are allowed to go to waste; these dilapidations have been of years and centuries. The peasants on the other hand, being also only farmers, and inclined to change, seek only the profit of a season. The plantations of mulberries and vines are kept up, but everything else is neglected. The oil is from trees planted one, two, or three thousand years ago; none are planted now. The greatest irregularity prevails in

payments; in some places the fifth or sixth only of the produce is taken, in others a third; in some a half. The practice in the contracts with the farmers is not to specify the proportion of the produce they are to receive, but to say "according to the custom of the place," *Moamish Cadimé*, or "according to last year's account," *Sené Isabka*. To arrive at a correct estimate is thus impossible; and the population, by this inequality of condition, having always before their eyes fears of worse and hopes of better, are rendered careless and capricious. When they acquire property, they never think of investing it in the land, so as to bring into culture the extensive wastes, but seek only to acquire houses in the cities, or land in their immediate vicinity.

The Beylic is supposed to date from the Mussulman conquest: this, as I have elsewhere shewn, is erroneous. The "third," of conquered lands, reserved to the State, was precisely the feudal Grand and Petty Sergeantry, the dues from which were applied to the special service of the king. No more under the Moslem than the Gothic systems, was the property of the cultivator in the soil questioned or disturbed; such ideas were as unknown then as is the practice of those days now. The Beneficium, or Lordship, extended only to a tenth of the produce.

These Beylic have sprung up by a process which we now see in operation. The lands of a village are deserted by its inhabitants, who go to settle on land similarly deserted. Another population then,

or afterwards, occupies their place, and by this change the lands of both are appropriated by the Government for debt or taxes. For instance; the lands of a hundred villages of the Metuali became Beylic during their contest with Jezzar Pasha, by having been deserted by their inhabitants. In the Lebanon, the administration of which has been always distinct, there are a great many such royal demesnes, in consequence of the wars of Druzes and Maronites. I have mentioned the Arabs as occupying the Merj Ajoun; wherever Arabs are settled they have made the land Beylic, because the rightful owners have been expelled. How many districts have they devastated in the course of three centuries; how many changes brought about; each having the same result on property? This cause is therefore sufficient to account for the actual Beylic; if it had originated in the original conquest, the public lands would have been chosen in one spot, and placed under a regular administration, instead of being scattered all over the country, and everywhere varying in the amount of rent.

While the Pashas were irresponsible, they accumulated property; perhaps at times paying inadequate sums as purchase money. It was not the Porte that sought to dispossess the people, and its policy has always been to favour them in dissensions with their Governors. The Pashas, guilty in that respect, were those who would be most likely to excite the indignation of the people; at last the ven-

geance of the Porte would overtake them, and their property would be confiscated; hence another source of Beylic.

Whatever the cause, the result is, that the best part of ancient Judea and Phœnicia, is actually Beylic. The Porte, not having arrogated to itself proprietorship, and having come into possession by degrees, and without rendering to itself account of the change, nor taking due measures thereupon, has derived thence no profit.

The larger proportion of the so-called private property is equally Beylic: the occupants having been suffered at different times to locate themselves, through the favour, indifference, or ignorance of the local Government.

The large arrears belonging to this branch of the revenue appears to have no real existence, having been fictitiously created by the anxiety of each succeeding Defterdar, to shew a more favourable balance sheet than his predecessor. The process is illustrated in a case which recently came before the Megilis. The people of a district close to Tripoli, complained that the farmer exacted his share in money, and at the rate, not of the price of corn this year, but of that of last year, which was considerably higher. The farmer urged in reply, that he had taken the farm with the express condition, that the corn should be rated in money at the price of last year, and that the word, *Sené Isabha*, had been specially introduced, and on that condition he had advanced the sum

of 400,000 piastres. The Megilis ruled that the corn should be paid in kind, or at the current price. This produced a new suit; the farmer insisting on throwing up his contract, the Defterdar on his executing it. The Megilis decided on a reduction of the price, which was approved at Constantinople. Here is an instance of the use of the Megilis, if allowed the leisure to attend to the functions which peculiarly belong to it. This is the crying abuse of the country, (I mean Syria); here there is a field, where there is neither danger of collision with the local authority, nor the temptation of personal corruption, as in the other matters in which they are engaged.

What measures are to be taken to turn this national property to account? This is no idle question put by a theorist, or dealt with by a traveller: it is not even the project of a reformer, or a cry got up for the hustings. It is the Government itself which puts the question; it puts it unsolicited, neither urged by an opposition, or under pressure from a mob. Rarely, in the history of nations, has such a disposition been witnessed. What a contrast with all that we have elsewhere seen in our day.

The Porte has wisely deferred forming plans, and issuing firmans, until the means of enlightenment for itself and the people were obtained, and powers provided for the enforcement of its conclusions when formed. The Megilis has commenced by protecting,

in its judicial capacity, the occupants of the lands against the farmers, and the farmers against extortionate contracts entered into at the instigation of the local treasurer; for which cases, formerly, there was no redress, and which ended only in the failure of the farmers, or the resistance of the people through their inability to pay.

The Megilis has, however, adopted a resolution important, though negative, viz., that until a decision is come to, no further sales of farms shall take place, and that their present holders should then have the refusal.

The Megilis, though left to feel their own way, but follow the impulse from Constantinople; and to Reschid Pasha is due the merit of the design, which is to give to the occupants the absolute property. The document which finally settles this matter, will multiply by ten every value in Syria. Reschid Pasha originally proposed to put the occupants at once in possession, on paying to the Government the tenth only; it was objected, that the failure of revenue for the first year or two, would bring the Government to a stand still. The next suggestion was, that the lands should be put up to sale. But there are abundance of waste lands; and the habits of acquisition and confidence had to be formed, before money in purchase would be laid out. With a view to this, a regulation of succession and inheritance of Beylic was published, by which such property was secured to female issue, and the collateral and ascending

relatives; formerly such property went only to direct male issue.*

Here for the present the matter rests; the Megilis and the public functionaries being instructed to devise means to attain the above ends, by such gradual process as may enable the Treasury to undergo the change. But here time is an element; the chapter of accidents is open, and this result postponed, becomes at best precarious. I do see a means of immediate adjustment; which is no other than that which has been already adopted by the late Sultan and his chief advisers.

The deficit of the Treasury, in the first instance, and the impossibility of a compensation by purchase money would both be met by a double tithe on the Beylic. That is to say, that the double tithe should be the condition of possession of the land by the actual cultivators, while its proceeds would at once, if paid in full to the Treasury, equal the amount which it receives from the farmers. Afterwards the second tithe could be remitted, so as at once to establish the uniformity of a single tax; the *impot unique*, which has been the dream of western financiers, and which, according to the legislators of Arabia, gives the highest amount of revenue, as constituting the increment of the public wealth.

To obtain this double tithe free of expense, it

* See note at the end of the chapter.

requires only to call to our aid the municipal element. That element does not exist in Syria; but all that is necessary, is to fix the sum, to render the communities responsible for it, and to leave them to find the means of collection. Every village would, the day following, be is possession of its municipality. This is the process by which these bodies have had existence all over Turkey—all over the world. This is the system which has given to the Empire that vitality, which has at once confounded the calculations and baffled the penetration of European observers. This is the system of which Dhosson has traced the panegyric in these few lines, the only ones in his great and elaborate work, which treats of the collection of the revenue:—

"The collection of the revenue is effected by a process so simple, and yet so admirable, that it has never given rise either to regulation or to comment."

The obstacle to this plan is, however, one which will be scarcely credited; for it is an objection of the Turkish Government to receive *more than a tenth.* This objection is based on the Koran, which limits to that sum the revenue. It is a pity that the Porte did not equally respect its religious obligations in regard to trade. The case is here not one of taxation, but of rent. The property, if not justly acquired, cannot be restored; for the possessors have ceased to exist: it belongs at present to the Government. The Government claims it as such,

by proposing to sell it. The one tenth would be the tax, the other tenth, the purchase money; and being in fact, a sale, would confer all the benefits which are looked to from the disposal of the property, and its permanent possession by individuals.

Here is an instance. I have mentioned one Government farm in the vicinity of Tyre, extending 4½ miles by 1½, in which are situated the "Pools of Solomon." It is at present farmed for 60,000 piastres, or £600. The six mills under the principal reservoir, and turned by the water that overflows from it, pay to the farm 40,000 piastres; so that five square miles of the richest land, with an unlimited supply of water, pay but £200 for rent and taxes! I have just seen an engineer occupied in the Messaa, who has returned from an inspection of the district. In speaking of this Beylic, he used these words:—"If it were in the possession of individuals who would keep the water-course in repair, and otherwise cultivate it properly, the returns would be at least 500,000 per annum."

This Pashalic, when entered by the Jews, three thousand years ago, contained, besides the Phœnicians, a population of 20,000,000. Silk, which is its present riches, was then unknown. What could it then have possessed in the way of government that cannot be now realized? The authority which rules it at present, has no hostile designs; no theories to carry out, no faith to impose, no tongue or manners of its own, to introduce; and even,

strange to say, no taxes to exact. It leaves it to itself, and does everything in its power to induce and enable it to take that burden on itself. All then that is wanted, is a return to that early simplicity in which lies the secret of all political greatness, as of all popular well-being. The application of that simplicity, will be found in the suggestion I have above offered, of restoring the municipal element, not by schemes and regulations, instructions and laws, but by calling on the people to perform for themselves the duty of taxation.

I would here recall the conversation I had with the elders at Sourie, who themselves proposed to undertake gratuitously the collection of the taxes, under the system prevailing in the Lebanon, merely to save the additional 5 per cent, paid to the agents. That method, as I have already shewn, would save either to the Porte or to the people four-fifths of their present taxes, and do away with a class of indirect functionaries, who are the source of as much annoyance to the Government, as of oppression to the people.

GOVERNMENT LANDS.

Comparison of Turkish and Indian Administration.

With regard to difficulties of administration, arising from extent of territory, from difference of language, belief, and custom, between the Central Government and its subjects, and the varieties amongst the subject populations themselves; difficulties from the existence of robber

tribes, included within the empire, from the warlike habits of the people in general, from the obstacles to communication between the seats of Government, the only one that can be put in parallel with the Ottoman Empire, is that which formerly belonged to the East Indian Company. The measures taken by the Porte, which are detailed in this chapter, offer a case for comparison between the two, as regards policy. What we here see the Turkish Government doing, is exactly the reverse of the course latterly pursued by the English. Since the period of the domination of the Board of Control, when in 1838 the Indus was crossed against the will of the Directors, or without the knowledge of the Parliament, the great internal measure has been to absorb land from individuals, and countries from their princes. That is, "annexation" has prevailed. By an "Act" passed by "the Governor-General in council" in 1852, a Commissioner was appointed to inquire into the titles of all land held exempt from payment, in the presidency of Bombay, whose decision, or that of his assistants, was declared "not to be questioned or avoided in any court of law." This Commissioner could issue an order to any proprietor of such lands, to attend at some specified place, and prove his title *within two months* from the date of the order; failing to do which, his land was immediately to be charged. To appeal against any decision only 100 days was allowed to him, and the only appeal was from an assistant to the Commissioner, or from the Commissioner to the Governor in council. But general rules were also laid down, which were these:—All land so held was to be resumed at the death of the present incumbent, except under certain cases, viz. provided the grant in perpetuity had been either made or recognized by competent authority, of which competency the Government was to be the judge: provided "the conditions of tenure could be ob-

served without breach of the laws of the land, or *the rules of public decency :"* provided the land had been held exempt from assessment for sixty years before the introduction of the British Government, and were held by a *male heir* of the original grantee. But even such lands were to be resumed on *the failure of a male heir, tracing his lineage through male heirs only.—Parliamentary Paper, called "Bombay. Titles of Land Commission," August,* 1857.

CHAPTER IX.

AN INTERLUDE, AN ARAB THEATRE.

Jan. 13*th.*—AFTER the Megilis, we went to the Play! The piece, for the opening of the first Arab theatre, was written by the son of one of the members of the Megilis:—was to be acted by the family, which was a large one, in their house in the suburbs. They were Maronites and their name Maron. It was curious to find the cognomen of Virgil in this attempt to renovate the Arab muse. The subject announced was "Aroun el Raschid and Jaffer;" the piece was said to be composed in the high Arab style, and interspersed with poetry, which was to be sung. We went on horseback, preceded by blazing fires of rezinous fir, and presently arrived, by a narrow lane and a steep stair (at least for horses), at a house all in disorder, and a crowd of people all in commotion. When we were introduced into the reception apartments, who should we find there but three grave Ulemas, the two Muftis, and the Cadi! The room was strewed with roses, lights blazed in all directions; we were overpowered with expressions of gratitude, and served with hot sherbet of cinnamon.

The theatre was the front of the house itself;

which was exactly what we seek to imitate by our scenes. There was in the centre a door, on each side of it two windows, and two above; the wings were the advanced part of the court with side doors. The stage was a raised platform in front. The audience was in the court, protected by sails spread over. They had seen in Europe footlights and prompter's box, and fancied it an essential point of theatricals to stick them on where they were not required. In like manner they introduced chairs for the Caliph and his Vizir, and cheval glasses for the ladies. As to costume there was the design at least of observing the proprieties; and, as regards the women, that is the boys dressed up as such, with perfect success. As there were no women on the stage, so were there none in the court, and not even at the windows which opened on the stage.

For Emin Effendi and myself arm-chairs were placed in front, and a large sofa on the left for the judges; the other guests of distinction were on the right, ample space being allowed for the service of pipes and nargillés. Between the acts we retired to the divan hané, where refreshments were served; and, though it was long, very long, no one went away, and every one seemed content and merry. Frequent applause rewarded the author and the actors; and at the close Jaffer, to act his part to the life, threw handfuls of coin amongst us, on which the stage was assailed from all sides with showers of roses. The curtain after being dropped, was raised again,

not because the audience called on a favourite performer, but for the performers to come forward to salute and thank the audience.

A short farce occupied the interval between the second and third acts. It was a husband befooled by his wife, a very grave case, and the ex-Mufti judged it to be so; taking the most vivid interest in its progress, and repeatedly informing the one party of the proceedings of the other. In fact he identified himself with the action, somewhat in the fashion of the ancient chorus, bewailing or approving. The husband at last is undeceived, by observing from the window at the side the lady and her lover; while the Mufti from the *Stalle d'Orchestre* commented vigorously on the guilty nature of the proceedings of the one, and the extreme imbecility of the other. The roars of laughter which these cross-purposes produced conferred on the farce unbounded success, which all were agreed to attribute to the actor whose part the author had not inserted.

The acting was awkward, the singing abominable; but the piece was evidently managed with considerable art. It was an earnest of the resources now slumbering, and of the facility with which the Arabian spirit may be touched and awakened. They are now to build a theatre, and other pieces are in preparation. The author told me, that they were painting a drop-scene with the ruins of Baalbec; on expressing my astonishment at their selecting something not their own, but Greek and Roman of the

bad time, he asked me to suggest something else. I asked in return if they had anything peculiarly their own, and peculiarly beautiful. He answered at once—"THE CEDARS."

Between the acts we were not entertained with "l'Entre'acte," or "le Messager du Soir," but discussed freely the proceedings at the Megilis in the morning. Feti Aga was disposed of by all, as guilty of far more than all that was laid to his charge. The day before I was told that a heavy blow had been dealt upon him by the Pasha, who proved his having concerted a projected insurrection to deter the Pasha from removing him. He had attempted to throw into the assembly the brand of religious discord, alleging that the depositions against him proceeded from the malevolence of the Mussulmans, because of the protection he afforded to the Christians. A person present said, "He protect the Christians! yes, such ones as the Russian consul points out." This led to inquiries as to what the Russian cousul had been doing in the matter. He had taken the strongest and the most undisguised part in favour of Feti Aga. His dragoman and his brother had been both involved in the conspiracy above referred to, and it was on his advice that Feti Aga had made the attempt to bribe Emin Effendi. In supporting malversation, Russia is merely labouring in her vocation; but it is frightful to contemplate the web and nets of corruption which she has spread over the land. Had

Emin Effendi accepted the money, the whole affairs of the Lebanon and the Pashalic would have been in the hands of the Russian consul, without an effort or the expenditure of a penny; and his victim bound hand and foot, wholly incapable of resisting his will or escaping from his power.

Jan. 14*th.*—I have had the opportunity of hearing the Frank population give utterance to its views. The picture is most alarming. The Messaa is a farce, the Megilis an imposture. It would take quires of paper, and ink bottles full of gall, to communicate all I have this night acquired in the way of knowledge and judgment. But it was all true, it was in the "Malta Times," and copied by the "Herald," the "Chronicle," and the "Post" in London. Had Emin Effendi taken the bribe, what a different song would be sung.

The Lebanon has been left by the Consuls in extraordinary repose; but they have been very harassing in local matters. The Lebanon is of use for mutually exciting France and England; local matters for irritating the Porte, when she has to be forced into some submission to Russia. Not only has the competition subsided, but the English and French consuls are acting together in the only matters they have touched, viz., the movement against Emir Hydar: they have insisted on the exile of his rival, Emir Beshir, and three of his partizans. The Pasha has paid little attention to their representations. Emir Beshir has hitherto been the

particular protegé of the British consulate, and used as an instrument against Emir Hydar, the man of the French consul. The Russian consul is reported to have said at the English consul's, that the affairs of the north are not settled; that Russia only waits the spring; that France, whatever may be said at present, is entirely in the views of Russia.

The Megilis is generally occupied in the evening on mere details, but this night, there has been a very interesting meeting. On week days they meet in the morning, separate at sunset for dinner, and sit again, generally till midnight. On Fridays, their Sunday, they have a half-holiday, and meet only in the evening. The evening sittings are held at Emin Effendi's, and to-day, just as we had done dinner, they commenced to arrive; in ten minutes they were all come; not one moved till the close. The séance consisted in what might be called a general conversation on the state of the country, for four successive subjects debated, involved all the points of importance.

First, we had a complaint from twenty or thirty villages around Skiff. It would appear that some former Pasha, had made them over as a compensation for services to the predecessor of Hamed el Bey and other chiefs of the Metualis. Such a gift is not legal, as a transfer of property can only take place by means of a Hodjet before a court, or a firman from the Porte. Subsequent Pashas had,

however, confirmed the grant, and on its being asked how they could have done so, one of the members produced a letter from one of these chiefs to a former Pasha requesting his confirmation; noted at the bottom of the letter were 100 okes of butter, 100 ardebs of grain, and some other items of the present, which accompanied the letter. The complaint of the peasants was for exactions in money and in grain, beyond what they formerly paid; but the question of proprietorship being thus raised, the Megilis instructed their secretary to draw up a Masbata, declaring the possession to be illegal, and directing the revenue to be henceforward paid to the Treasury.

In the course of the discussion it came out that the Megilis employed secret agents, and this complaint appeared to have been prompted by one of these. The difficulty is to get the peasants to bring forward their grievances. While talking on this matter, Emin Effendi interrupted a speaker, and said; "An idea has just occurred to me, which I wish to submit to the Megilis: what do you say to inviting from each district, a delegate of the peasants to be joined to the Megilis, that we may have accurate information, and that they may understand our proceedings." Silence followed his words; after a time one remarked that he did not see any use in having so many persons; another asked, who will pay them? I was startled when I heard the proposal, and watched every countenance, but there

was no response. Here was the representative of the Porte offering the fullest measure of liberty, as we understand the word, to a people engaged in dreams of revolution and in projects of treason, and they receiving such offer with indifference and contempt.

A report of arrears in the district of Tripoli, was presented with the Masbatas of the various Megilis concerned, by which it appeared that certain Sheiks were in arrears for periods of eleven years and under, for sums which amounted to 100,000 piastres. These were not farmers of villages, but Mucatajis, who receive the regular tribute. This incident led to the discussion of the case of the farmers of the Beylic villages and lands, and it was suggested by Emin Effendi, that before the ensuing sale in the month of March, it should be ascertained what, in every district, was the "custom of the place," or had been the custom within fifteen years (an amendment of the Cadi), and that in the new contracts, instead of the general terms, the precise specification should be introduced. This proposal was immediately adopted.

The next matter regarded the sale of the customs. It had been ordered at Constantinople, that they should be simultaneously put up to auction here, and at Constantinople, and that the highest bidder at either place should be the purchaser. In consequence of the doubt no one came forward here; and it was consequently decided to apply to Constanti-

nople, to have the sale effected there. On this the question was raised, whether the whole of Syria should not be made one farm (customs), instead of each port being, as at present, a separate one. It was urged in favour of the first, that at present the customers treated separately with the merchants, to admit their goods below the tariff; thus, a cargo coming to Beyrout was sent to Saïda, paid there an inferior duty, and then was introduced at Beyrout. The export trade was in like manner managed, and sent to the port where the best bargain could be effected. That, in consequence, the customs rendered far less than they ought according to the tariff, and the Megilis was tormented with incessant quarrels between the customers. The arguments on the other side bore on the difficulty of carrying on so vast an enterprise, and the risk of the failure of the customer; one customer (of Acre) was mentioned as having realized last year a profit of £15,000. Being referred to, I explained the injurious nature of a tariff of 12 per cent. and urged the adoption of that system, which should most enable the commerce of the country to struggle against it; mentioning the opinion of several merchants, that it was only by such facilities, they had been able to hold their ground. It was, consequently, decided to leave the ports, distinct farms, as at present.

This led to a conversation respecting a Tribunal of Commerce, by which to get rid of the interference of consuls, and also of a large amount of business,

for which they have neither time nor knowledge; such as litigations respecting bills of exchange, averages, bankruptcies, and the like.

The last subject was a report of the proceedings of Emir Hydar in Bsharré. In this the Megilis has no concern, the Lebanon being independent of it; but it was introduced conversationally, after business was disposed of. The Emir, being in arrears with his revenue, had been, on their Masbata, pressed by the Pasha. He had consequently sent to various districts to require money, and amongst others to Bsharré, where 100 horsemen were "eating" at present; that being the Lebanon financial resource. The people had sent to say that "they had paid every fraction that they owed, and more." The Pasha thereupon remonstrated with the Emir, who admitted that his subordinates had themselves not paid the money they had received; but that still there was money owing from the villages. The Megilis is without authority; the Pasha in like manner is unable even to require to see the accounts. And this is the system (for here the constitution of Chekib Effendi operates) which the Frank consuls are pleased to call the "Liberties" or the "Rights" of the Lebanon; and regarding which they are daily accusing the Turkish Government of perfidious designs! It was only this day that, in reply to a question from one of these consuls, I said that what struck me most in the Lebanon, was the suc-

cess of the Turkish Government in overcoming difficulties, which to any European Government would be inextricable. He answered, "I am not less astonished than you; but what a pity that it did not commence with sweeping away all these separate populations, systems, and faiths, and thus have finished at once all these occasions of dissension within and without."

To return to the Megilis. A report had been received that 50 piastres per head are exacting in the Mountain for the expense of the Messaa. Emin Effendi, being called on to state what that expense amounted to, said that the two Caimacans had told him that they were ready to furnish the sums requisite for himself and his people. He had answered, that he was well paid by his Government, and could accept neither remuneration nor expenses; and requested them to pay to the 72 valuators the salary that had been fixed of 10 piastres (2*s*) per diem. The money not being forthcoming, he had paid them himself, and the entire expense of the Messaa had been under 7000 piastres. An exaction, under the name of the Messaa, would certainly be an admirable plan for discrediting that operation.

If all that here appeared to the eye and was heard by the ear was real, how soon might Syria flourish and rejoice. While indulging in the sight and sound, I knew I was in presence of a delusion; that before me were shadows or automatons; nor could I exclude the thought of the liberty which

Rome conferred on Greece at the Isthmian Games. Here, however, no acclamation hailed the hollow boon; and in granting abstract freedom, the Porte has assured to them something practical, which they can understand, and that is, the separation of powers in the local Government, and paid instead of gratuitous functionaries. It was something too, to see, as I saw this night, a Cadi sitting on a mattrass between a Christian and a Jew. This may appear too extreme a departure from ancient usage; but this was the ancient usage of the Turks. Mahmoud II. had a Jew for his Minister of Finance, and held the stirrup for the Greek Patriarch.

CHAPTER X.

RESTORATION OF ANCIENT HARBOURS AND WATER-WORKS.

THIS night (17th), after the regular business was concluded, the members of the Megilis continued to sit, "on a visit to me," as they expressed it; claiming my assistance in regard to two, for them, very important matters.

Beyrout, in 1840, numbered 14,000 inhabitants; it has now 50,000:* there was then scarcely a habitation beyond the walls; now the whole country outside is built upon; the supply of water, then insufficient, has not been increased. The increasing trade equally calls for a harbour. On both these points they have repeatedly applied to Constantinople, but without any satisfactory reply. The Turkish Government is so sensitive in regard to any project, which involves the presence or interference of Europeans, that it cannot be even brought to look at such; and therefore the members of the Megilis made a request to me to inspect the harbour, and the country around and above Beyrout, so as to furnish them with some definite notion of the

* The census gives (Islam) Houses, 1725; Men, 7663: (Rayah) Houses, 2196; Men, 7456.

feasibility and expense of clearing the harbour, and bringing down water for the supply of the town. This I had already engaged to do, and shall set down some of the details which they gave me, illustrative of the inconveniences from which they at present suffer.

The Megilis, in its financial capacity, is a corn-merchant, having to dispose of the grain which it receives in tribute. They had recently to sell grain at Jaffa and at Gaza; for the first they got 56½ piastres the ardeb (120 okes); for the second 44½ piastres. The latter was of a better quality than the former; the difference they estimated at 30 per cent. occasioned by the greater facility of embarkation at Jaffa. To the expense of porterage and lighterage is to be added the increase of freight attendant on the long detention of vessels. Beyrout imports the grain for the Lebanon, and consequently such grain has twice to undergo this operation; it has thus to incur double loss. Thence the price of food in the Lebanon is 50 per cent higher than in the rest of Syria. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the commerce of the place has so grown that whereas ten years ago one English vessel would be seen in a month, in the course of last year 77 English vessels anchored there, to discharge in whole, or in part their cargoes; the aggregate tonnage of these vessels amounting to 12,864. In all; European tonnage 41,544, native trade 27,179; giving a total for exports and imports of 137,446 tons. A place, like a

man, that is able to work its own way, deserves assistance: the trade of this year shews an increase on the last of one-third in exportation, and of £400,000 on importation.

There remains, however, a far more important consideration as regards the construction of ports. Syria, hitherto dependant on importations from foreign countries, has this year undergone a revolution, for it has exported it. It has sent out a quantity equal to its importation for the last four years (value 13,000,000 of francs). Taking then at 10 per cent the extra charges of lighterage from vessels having to load in the roadstead, the enormous impulse that would be given to the productive faculties of the whole province, by the reconstruction of its harbours will be appreciated. It remains to be seen whether this is practicable, and at what cost.

As to the supply of water. The deficiency here was so much felt, even before the growth of the town, that Ibrahim Pasha sent engineers and boring machinery for Artesian wells. The experiment however failed: the boring tools are still here. They are at present supplied from one of the ancient ducts, which in the rainy season overflows by twenty-two fountains, and runs to waste; but it is dry in the summer. They have to bring water all the way from the Nahar el Kelb on the back of asses. It sells at a high price, and is often not to be obtained at all. In buying, building, or hiring a house, the first necessity is an ass, and a boy to drive it. This place,

recently a village, now so rapidly expanding itself, and having become the seat of the Pasha in lieu of Saïda, whose official designation is still Valy of Saïda, remains by these two deficiencies, compressed and incapable of developing itself into the important mart and provincial capital, which otherwise it promises to become.

This business having been so far concluded, I asked them how it was that the two baths, which formerly were required for the "village," continued to suffice for the "Provincial Capital." They laughed, and asked me in return whether we, who constructed such magnificent ports, and brought such quantities of water into our towns, had baths in them. Emin Effendi remarked that Paris, London, Vienna, Rome, and Madrid, could not altogether shew such baths as Beyrout alone contained. I told them that until progress was complete, that is to say until the human race was bowed down under one dead uniformity, there would always remain in each country something that another might profit by, but that it would always happen that each would be ignorant of its good things. Thus, even in Beyrout, there were things that it would be good for London and Paris to possess. They asked for another example. I gave them that of fixedness of imposts and immutability of laws; and inquired where their Megilis would be if, in addition to other work, it had to vote supplies, and pass 200 "Regulations of Chekib Effendi," in the course of the year? A second example was

Feti Aga. No European Parliament, even an Imperial one, would dare to call to account a public functionary; and if they did, the Government, instead of assisting, would obstruct their proceedings. The old Cadi said, "You are a good physician: you have given us a good many bitter draughts to swallow; but you can add a little honey at times." Emin Effendi closed the discussion and clenched the moral, by these words: "You see now why the new constitutions of Europe have done them no good. We must try and give them a lesson."

Jan. 18*th.*—This day expended on the examination of the harbour, with the most satisfactory results. By throwing down an old tower, and running out its materials to fill a gap, and complete an old breakwater, at present submerged, and by clearing out the centre of the present port, where Fakreddeen had sunk vessels with stones, to prevent the entrance of the Turkish galleys, operations which might be completed in a couple of months, the port could be restored to what it was at the close of the seventeenth century, which would enable three times the amount of shipping of last year to unload direct on the quays. One shilling a ton wharfage, on that amount of traffic during two years, would cover the charge. In the restoration of Beyrout there is a facility not to be found in the other ports of the Phœnician coast, which, from Ruad (Arvad) down to Acre, were constructed by means of reefs running parallel to the coast. Along this line the

sand, having accumulated, has to be cleared out, That of Beyrout is protected by the point running out to the west, and so affording an extensive anchorage, protected from all winds south of west and east of north. The harbour itself has still three fathoms within it. It has not been rendered unserviceable by the indraught of sand, and the sea breaks into it with gales from the north-east and north-west, only by reason of the dilapidation of the breakwater.

Jan. 19*th.*—Water-works. Traces of extensive ducts of the highest antiquity are everywhere, underground and overground. Before attempting to trace these to their source, I was desirous to ascertain what chances there were of obtaining water on the spot; and it was to the sea I first turned my attention. A spring is reported to rise on the shore in the very bay of Beyrout. I have mentioned another rising in the middle of a stream near Tripoli; the Pools of Solomon throw up a little river close by the shore. The structure of the Lebanon leads us to expect natural artesian wells along its base. A formation of several thousand feet in thickness, some of the layers porous, and admitting the passage of water, standing on edge, and shelving down to the sea, must, in the lower parts, be charged with water under considerable pressure, so that it will pour out by any vent opened in it, over or under the water line. The people speak of fresh water coming up at various places in the sea: this

is confirmed by Strabo's account of the siege of Aradus. The supply of water from the land being cut off, the people obtained it from the sea, by means of a large bell of lead in the shape of an oven, κλίβανος, to which was attached a hose of leather. It was lowered from a boat over the spring; at first the water came up brackish, but afterwards sweet.* The depth at this point, as we elsewhere learn, was twelve fathoms.†

When Ibrahim Pasha attempted to sink artesian wells he tried the higher ground, one of these which I was taken to see was 200 feet above the level of the sea. In the repetition of such experiments it would be well to take the lower ground, and not to be deterred by the sea itself.

All the gardens have wells, but the water is brackish and in small quantity. There is in the court of the Tuscan Consul a well of a couple of hundred feet through the rock; it is also brackish, but this well is on an elevation. On a small plateau nearly level with the highest point of the town, and where Ibrahim Pasha had constructed a windmill, I found the orifice of an ancient cistern, actually filled with

* Strabo, xiv. 15.

† At Porto Venere, a source boils up in the bay: sailing through it, I have taken up a cup of perfectly fresh water. There is, or was, a similar source in the harbour of Syracuse, opposite the fountain of Arethusa (*Fagelli de Rebus Siculus*, 1, iv. 5); and another to the south of Cuba, at the distance of two or three leagues, in ten or twelve fathoms.—*Humbolt, Tab. de la Nature*, tom. i. p. 331.

water, nearly to the level of the ground. I returned, therefore, from my day's exploration satisfied that there were most favourable indications of a supply from this source, and consequently at a very trifling cost. The borers sent by Ibrahim Pasha are in the old tower at the harbour; but the Chinese method of the cannon ball and chain with chisels projecting from the ball, affords a simpler method.

The ancient water-works met me at every turn. Near one of the gates are steps leading down to a passage cut through the solid rock, 6 *feet high and* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *wide*, in which there is at present stagnant water; canals divide from it right and left. This water must have come from a considerable distance, and the enormous quantity and the expense of a canal thus piercing through the solid rock for miles suggest a comparison with the great works of Latium. Hundreds of thousands must have inhabited the city which required it, and millions have been expended on its construction.

This day we have learnt officially the termination of the affair with Russia. It was but yesterday that I repeated to the French Consul the words of M. Desages* to myself, "Notre travail a toujour été, de *peser* sur la Porte." They were rejected as untrue, and as insulting to the generous dispositions of the protectors of the Sultan. How signally they are verified this day. The Porte standing alone, repels the pretensions of Russia. England and

* Late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

France back her, and she yields! Since the Poles have been at Constantinople, Russia has never failed on the accession to office of a weak Reis Effendi to demand their expulsion; she has now succeeded with a strong one, against the emphatic declaration of the Sultan, and supported by his two Allies. It is the Allies, not Russia, who have triumphed. Allies, who, in the words of M. Thiers, have "adopted the interests of Russia as their own." He added "You have, therefore, nothing further to do:" I answered at the time, "Therefore you have much work and trouble before you."

I asked one of the Consular body to what amounted the European patronage of the Porte, since such was the result. He answered me with, no doubt perfect good faith, "We have gained much, for had it not been for the Two Powers the Porte would have conceded all that Russia required!" So easy is it to be satisfied with one's own conduct, when one has the faculty of explaining it as one likes.

What could be more absurd than taking counsel on such a subject with a Power (France) who, to please Russia, had already expelled the Poles from its own territory: to say nothing of the conjoint sacrifice of Cracow by England and France, and their mutual recrimination, that each "was ready to sacrifice Constantinople, as it had sacrificed Cracow."

The Porte, however, has objected to the term

"expulsion of the Poles," it has admitted only "request to the Poles to withdraw." Supposing the Poles refuse! Is it the Porte that has left the wound open? Is it Russia that has put in the pea?

Achmet Effendi, not an ordinary or a pliant man, is sent to Wallachia. He had a salary of 2000 piastres a month, he is to receive one of 20,000. There may be some connection between these incidents.

January 20th.—I started yesterday to explore the ancient aqueduct, having in attendance the person who manages the water of the town; but finding him wholly ignorant, I went to Izzet Pasha, whose residence is near the gate, expecting he could aid me. A Turk who was present, said he knew the country and place well, and volunteered to accompany me. He had to go home for his horse; his house was in the gardens without the town, so I went with him. He then insisted on our breakfasting first, and to my surprise ushered me into a library of European books, and filled with scientific instruments. He spoke French, and was a medical man; breakfast was soon served. I had taken a morsel, when he said, "You will find that good, it is pork." My fingers involuntarily gaped their surprise, and the morsel fell back into the dish; Ibrahim Effendi looked aghast. Neophytism has here lost its usual character; my host was a renegade Maronite. Thus prepared we set forth; I would

not look at the canal which conveys the water at present used, and of which we passed the fountain, as I was told, at St. Dimetry, about a mile above the town; nor the wells which communicated with the ancient duct, as I found there was no escape from this labyrinth, except by getting to the source. We soon came on the plain of red sand, which has been blown up from the sea. Some ancient fruit-bearing pines (snowbar) stand here. You pass through a broad open space, between thick plantations of younger trees, which, with their bright green on the red sand, which bears no other verdure, have a singular effect. After we had crossed this tract, the land is depressed. To the rise of the hill is a couple of miles, which the water crossed on a raised wall or aqueduct, of which we traced the foundations all along, either by the stones still visible, or the hollow from which they had been quarried, or by the quarry work still going on; after two thousand years of pilfering this furnishes still the supply of stones for the country far and near. My companions were loud in their execrations of a people (themselves) who could ruin such works. I felt more mercifully towards them, for I reflected on the new mansion of an Armenian Saraff that I had visited in the morning. Innocent are those who only destroy buildings, compared with those who destroy taste: innocent are those who profit by the ravages they make, compared with those who, to desecrate and pollute, spend their money.

On arriving at the rising ground we lost all trace of the aqueduct. Ibrahim Effendi offered to take me to it again, at the back of the mountain, so we turned off to the left till we struck the Damascus road, which we followed to a khan; then struck off to the left again into the valley of the river of Beyrout, where it emerges from the mountain. We entered the gorge, and at one of its turns came in sight of a magnificent monument, an aqueduct striding across the valley, on three tiers of massive arches, reminding me of the Pont du Garde. It is broken down in the centre, and some only of the pillars of the third series stand; but on the right side, you may stand on the second rank and look down on the bed of the river, 300 feet below; the span of the aqueduct may be two hundred yards: the whole is built of huge blocks.

The sight of this monument, however gratifying it might have been had I been conducted to it by no other feeling than curiosity, filled me with disappointment. The restoration of such a work was beyond the slender means available for the purpose in view.

Leading from it, straight into the mountain, was the aperture, corresponding in dimensions, but not in form, with the passage cut through the rock at Beyrout: the roof is formed by stones laid together like that of a house. Having scrambled up to it, and with torches ready, I found the passage at a short distance barred by the roof, which had fallen

in. The sides, by an incrustation of seven inches, record the long course of centuries during which this stream had flowed.

I now proposed to cross the river to pursue the channel, and had some difficulty in persuading my companions to accompany me. The day was far spent, and the water presented an obstacle to those who feared a ducking. The peasants, however, offered to carry us across dry, a little below, which they did.

Ascending to the other end of the aqueduct, I observed large bored stones, made to fit into each other like tubes. They did not belong to the main channel, but were a branch duct leading off. The aqueduct runs into the side of the mountain, as if there supplied from a source, or as if it were bored through like the other side. But there are here two square reservoirs, of the same kind of work as the bridge itself, and the water is led into them at right angles, the duct running parallel to the river. The peasants who had brought us across said that the other end of the duct, where it reaches the bed of the stream, was three or four miles higher up, and volunteered to conduct us to it. I must not forget that on the other side of the valley, and some twenty feet above the orifice of the passage into the mountain, there are on a ledge of rock several semi-circular arches, which doubtless once supported a conduit of water at a still higher level, and running on the left bank parallel to the stream. Was this

a rival company, the "New River," *v.* "Metropolitan," or was it water for some other city? The conduit I have been examining was capable, with its great inclination, of discharging water enough for the supply of a district of London, and yet the other appeared to be of not inferior dimensions. The peasants told me that that duct also entered the mountain, and communicated by a flight of steps with the duct below. In the bed of the stream we found some fragments of very fine coal, proceeding from a seam of six feet in thickness, close to a large supply of iron-stone and argentiferous lead, which Ibrahim Pasha commenced working; but the operation was interrupted by reason of the bombardment of Acre.

Proceeding up the river for about three miles, we came upon the conduit, and saw the remains of an aqueduct crossing the river, and carrying the conduit from the right bank to the left. This then was the conduit on the highest level, and not that feeding the great aqueduct below. The bed of the river now narrowed, and was filled with rocks; and we continued to trace the conduit for two miles more, up to a point considerably higher than that which was requisite for the level, and reaching to a double fountain which is not the source of the river, but flows into it. The river, they say, is dry in summer, but these sources always run. Attached to the large fragments of broken rock around were masses of masonry, resembling that of the "Pools

of Solomon," that is, rolled stones imbedded in mortar. Lower than these fountains is another, where there were no traces of building, and which the peasants said was very bad water; it flows out on a bed of myrtle, and is said in summer to vary in colour and regularity. Some days being as white as milk, other as red as blood; and ceasing or flowing without defined rule. It is curious that the same observations are made elsewhere. The ebb and flow of the Pool of Bethesda seems established by recent observations, and the people of Sur relate that the ancient fountains there change colour in the spring, becoming white. Then again there is the old myth of the blood of Adonis periodically turning red the river consecrated to him. As the soil of the Lebanon is both red and white, there is nothing extraordinary in these changes; the strata, being set on edge, the water of the low ground may be largely supplied from that which filters through the strata, so that at the period of the melting of the snows, one stratum may be closed and another opened for the passage, changing thereby the colour of the water.

Near these fountains was a grotto, which for want of cords I could not explore, and above it a face of rock scarped and cut into a small chamber, where must have stood an altar or a statue. The roof and walls are mortared for lining; the door is neatly cut; a broad flight of steps led to the platform in front. There are other marks among the

rocks of the sanctity which once must have belonged to the spot, which nature had fitted up at once to supply useful things and to suggest gloomy thoughts.

We had now again to be ferried across the river, and that with expedition, for the evening was closing in, and our small space of heaven was covering over with heavy clouds. While I was on the back of my carrier in the middle of the stream, a vivid flash opened the fire, and as the roll heavily fell upon us, the "urutu," as the Arabs call the rain, came down as if suddenly let loose by a spring. Before we reached the village we were drenched to the skin, and as we entered the first hut the rain ceased: but having nothing to change, no covering, or beds, and little prospect of anything to eat, we determined to plod our way back to Beyrout, which design we carried into execution without mishap.

What an idea does not this give of the early condition of this coast. Beyrout was not then a provincial capital, it was an insignificant place, and in the immediate neighbourhood of places of great importance. What was Berytus beside Tyre and Sidon, Tripoli and Aradus? What was it even beside Byblus and Botrus? Here is the least of six cities, with an interval of a dozen miles between each, requiring a supply of water equal to that of Glasgow to-day, for these distant canals must have been in addition to the local; the nearer sources must have been turned to account before such a work as this

was undertaken. Such evidences as these enable the mind to take in those enormous numbers which the Old Testament attributes to Syria; and on the other hand to justify to oneself the equally enormous prospects which now lie before her, and which for the moment seem to be in the hands of the half dozen quiet and obscure individuals with whom I am nightly sitting in council.

It is not however numbers that have to be considered in contrasting ancient and modern times. It is the value of life. To establish this difference assistance may be gained from the country in which I write. The close affinity of ancient times, and of oriental countries, is admitted; of oriental countries this is perhaps the least favourable one by which to read the past. I can tell the difference between the value of life here and in Europe. Here the great drawback is exposure to violence, which we do not suffer from in our countries, or at least in England. This appears to us very dreadful, but persons get accustomed to it, just as the inhabitants of Etna and Vesuvius. In all other respects, the sum of happiness is on their side. Happiness is not to be rated in its objects, but in its sensations. Man is happy in his affections, his perceptions, and his tastes. Callosity, with all appliances, sensibility with all deficiencies,—such are the two extremes, in the mean of which happiness is to be found. The people here, compared with that of Europe, possess at once the double superiority of faculties to enjoy, and objects

to exert them on; and, giving a term of comparison for the purpose rather of conveying a thought, than instituting a scale, I should say, that the sum of pleasurable sensations enjoyed in any four-and-twenty hours by one of these people, equals that of a lifetime of one of ours. When we ascend above the classes who on the European side are exposed to privations, the balance is still against us. In our hard wrought existence, the few who draw the prizes, by reason of the loss of polite manners, and by the habits of disputation on abstract matters, do not come into possession of happiness countervailing the misery of the millions who draw the blanks. Their ease of circumstances does not give them either a life of ease, or a life of enjoyment; they are the prey of self-love, which is the essential part of every European to-day, and by reason of which each European stands the perfect contrast of each Oriental. Our idle classes are thus deprived of the charms of that intercourse for which Alexander Dumas has found the expression, the "politeness of intimacy;"* and are troubled without being in earnest. The separation of sincerity from life, and gravity from manners, is marked by habits which can only be rendered through terms shameful to utter, such as persiflage, slang, sneer, ridicule, and that most hideous of all disfigurements, the laugh, not prompted by a merry thought.

* "Cette politesse de l'intimité, que l'on n'a plus de nos jours."

A people reduced to this condition, and which makes its enjoyments out of its frivolities, can of course not understand how it has sacrificed its enjoyments by its frivolities. I but bear testimony; I do not propose either to change nature, or give comprehension. My testimony is, let the value of it be taken or left, that amongst this degraded and contemptible race of the Lebanon, with the mere exception of the recent pupils turned out of the missionary and Roman Catholic schools, there is not a single individual who could utter a slang phrase, who would degrade himself with a sneer, or who passes an hour the victim of ennui; whilst there is not a man who is in danger of going supperless to bed, or whose prospect of life is closed by relief, in or out doors, from the workhouse.

Providence has indissolubly linked together virtue and enjoyment. Virtue for the people of this country I certainly would be the last to claim. But still, vice has not here put on the mask of frivolity. Where there is not gravity, there cannot be virtue; where there is not gravity there can be neither merriment nor contentment. The first the people of this country do not enjoy; the latter the people of Europe do not know. If there be a few exceptions out of the two hundred millions, these exceptions bear witness against their compeers.

I had, when a boy, a quasi-tutor in an Arab from Tripoli. I brought him one day a caricature of Lord John Russell. Not apprehending his reproach-

ful look, he gave utterance to what was in his mind in these words: "I would rather perish than belong to a race, a single individual of whom was capable of drawing a caricature."

The human beings who were supplied by the water from this aqueduct represent then, as compared with the inhabitants of Glasgow, a totally different human value, being infected neither with squalor nor vulgarity. It can be to me no interest that this current be restored, to supply another growth of population, if that population is to resemble the factory product of civilization and progress. If we cannot hope to see men upon the earth, let us at least preserve in their effigies, the monuments of what men have been.

The entire length of the ancient conduit, may be fourteen miles: nine or ten from Beyrout to the aqueduct; hence to the source four or five; where it passes through the rock it is probably in good repair, and that may amount to three-fourths or two-thirds of the distance. The reparations required would be on the canal from St. Dimetry to the Pines, then from the Pines to the hill, and lastly the aqueduct. The expense for the two first would be trifling; the difficulty is the aqueduct, nor would this entail a very heavy outlay. The broken down part might be rebuilt by means of successive rows of arches, which the native workmen are quite equa to construct; there are hewn stones on the spot, or stones easily quarried, and lime; and a slight bridge

would suffice to conduct the small body of water which would at present suffice.

The result of these explorations is therefore as follows:—

1st. There is every prospect of obtaining by artesian wells an abundant supply.

2nd. To put in order the conduits which bring into the town the present supply, and to clear out the ancient cisterns, which are every where to be found, in which the overplus water of the winter months might be kept. Should this prove insufficient, then,

3dly. To repair the aqueduct.

For the last, as indeed for the second, a company would have to be formed.

[There is connected with this aqueduct an archæological romance, which, not to return again to the subject, I here introduce from my subsequent Diary; and the more so, as the two volumes to which I am restricted, will be filled long before I reach its date.]

April 30th. — This morning, my host, (Emir Beshir) was much better, and it was 8 o'clock, (3 P.M.) before I got away from Brumana. I continued on the ridge as far as Deir el Kalaah; along the path were scattered blocks of stone, pierced as a water pipe, and grooved deeply, so as to fit into one another. They formed a duct to bring water to

Deir el Kalaah along the ridge, which however rises considerably, so that there can be no doubt that at the time of its construction, they understood the principle of the ascent of confined fluids. To see if any memory of its epoch was preserved, I inquired by whom it had been made, and was answered "By *Sitti Simrit!*" Nearly two thousand years ago, Strabo was told that the mounds, water conduits, and "stairs of the mountains," were the works of Semiramis. At Baalbeck, Emir Hangar told me, that there were pipes to conduct the water upwards: I did not see them, but they mount over the later Roman part. If so, the Romans could have only followed, and adopted the practice they found, without publishing the discovery in their Penny Magazine.

Anxious to reach Beyrout early to despatch answers to several applications respecting grievances, which had reached me on the road; and also in great pain from my leg, I could only give a glance at the interesting ruins of Deir el Kalaah. Three trunks of large columns stand, and the lower layers of the cella of a temple, in very large blocks; several Greek inscriptions shew the Divinity to have been a Phœnician, one unknown before, Baal Markios, or Baal the Dancer. A second temple has smaller columns, with *Etruscan* capitals. Mr. Bertou found a piece of an Ionic capital of archaic form, and has fortunately given a figure of it, which exactly corresponds with one in the Palace of Nim-

roud, in a bas-relief, representing the attack of a maritime city, which Mr. Layard supposes to be Tyre. Over a window I saw an Ionic volute. The Doric, the first order of Greece, has been found with architrave, entablature and triglyph, at Beni Hassan, 1400 years before Pericles. Then came the discovery of Mr. Layard, giving the type of the Ionic in Assyria some centuries at least before the building of the tombs of Alyattes and Mausolus. Here is the original on the soil of Phœnicia, and having a possible date of nine centuries before Cadmus. Now I behold the Etruscan, the original order of Italy, in the land, from which, through Lydia, we must derive that people.

Deir el Kalaah contains an inscription which, in consequence of a slight discrepancy in the inclination of a letter between a copy, sent home fifty years ago by Mr. Seetzen, and one recently made by Mr. Smith, has become the chief claim to fame of the archæological Œdipus, M. Letronne. The story is a romance; I must narrate it.

Mr. Smith, the American Missionary, known by his travels in Kurdistan, and a man of extensive acquirements, examined Deir el Kalaah, and copied and sent to Paris several inscriptions, one of which was as follows:

ΡωΝΑΝϵΘΗΚΑΙ
ΑΟΘϵΝϵΚΝΑϹΟΙΟ
ΡΟΔΟΥΤΕΧΝΑϹΠΑ
ΠΟΘΙΝΟΝΑΙΛΙω

ΝΟЄΚCΡΑΟΥΧΑΛΚЄ
ΟΝΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ
ΠΡΟΧCΑΝΤΑΒΡΟ
ΤΟΙC /Є ΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΝ
ΥΔωΡ

On this M. Letronne set to work, and made it out satisfactorily, with the exception of the two last words. On examining, however, the Corpus Inscriptionum, he found (number 4535) the identical inscription copied fifty years ago by Seetzen, the last word but one shewing a discrepancy. The two words ran, in English letters, *Ierodromon hudor*, which mean, "holy running water." Such an epithet no where else occurs, and in it there seemed to be no sense. But in Mr. Smith's copy the first letter, I, was inclined; so M. Letronne concluded that, instead of an I, it was a part of an A, the rest of it having been effaced by time, and proposed to read the word, *Aerodromon*, which would mean "borne through the air." He consequently restored the inscription in this fashion:

. . . . ρων ἀνέθηκα
(Τή) λοθεν ἐκ νήσοιο Ρόδου, τέχνασμα ποθινόν
Ἄμμονος κεραοῦ χάλκεον ἀντίτυπον,
. . . Προχέοντα βροτοῖς ἀεροδρόμον ὕδωρ.

and translated it thus:

". . . . *has dedicated* (*this monument*) *brought from a far country, from the island of Rhodes, desired object of art, image of horned Ammon, pouring to mortals water borne through the air.*"

The inscription is of the second or third century; and it refers to a bronze work of art, through which the water had originally poured, but which has now disappeared. The discovery of M. Letronne did not end with the word: he saw more in it. He said to himself, "water borne through the air must have been carried by an aqueduct; tracing this conduit, we are sure to find a monument of this description." He therefore wrote to M. Calliar, a French engineer officer, then surveying Syria, desiring him to repair to the spot, and telling him that he was sure to find there a stupendous aqueduct. Nobody had heard of anything of the sort; but M. Calliar relying on his Teucer, repaired thither, after some casting about and inquiries, was at length gratified by the sight of the rival of the Pont du Garde, striding across the valley of Beyrout. On a former occasion I came upon the same monument no less unexpectedly. His amazement at the sight may be imagined; as also the terms of the annoucement of the discovery, and its reception by the learned throughout Europe. The whole story is told in the "Revue Archéologique," numbers for May, November, and December, 1846.

However pressed for time I could not omit the inspection of this inscription. What was my astonishment when I read, as clear as chisel could cut, and as perfectly as indurated limestone could preserve, the word, *Ierodromon!* I had to rub my eyes several times before I could trust them. So this chain of

proof, worked out by critical acuteness, and leading from the filling up of a letter in Paris, to the discovery of a signal monument in Syria, was, after all, but a mistake.

The aqueduct is in a deep valley below, at the distance of several hours. The water of this aqueduct was not poured out where it spanned the valley, but at Beyrout; consequently any inscription belonging to it must have been at Beyrout. It is not to be supposed that any one would take and carry it up to Deir el Kalaah. The inscription belongs to the water at Deir el Kalaah, not to the aqueduct bringing another water to Beyrout. This conduit makes its way not through the air, but underground; the word Αεροδρόμου applied to it would be ridiculous. If, as I have said, this water rose through its pipe, by a principle unknown to the Greeks (being to them one of the ancient works which they referred to Semiramis), then indeed the epithet ἱερόδρομου, sacred-flowing—moved by a divine impulse—would be applicable, and would moreover prove that the water had been so raised to its level. Otherwise there would have been no object in boring the stones, in having them of such great strength, or in bevelling them into each other, with so much care.

The discovery of M. Letronne, to which we appeared to owe the knowledge of a monument, amounted to the effacing of the record of a science. This is the most beautiful example I know of European criticism. He could not say, "I do not know

the meaning of Ierodromon." If he could have said so, the word would have remained for some one else, to discover through it, that the ancients, not the Greeks and Romans, knew that water inclosed, found its own level.

These very stone pipes might now be employed to bring, without repairing the aqueduct, water into Beyrout.*

* The Terrazi at Constantinople bring the water from the Bends at Belgrade, by a similar process.

CHAPTER XI.

ANTIPATHY TO PUNISHMENT.

Jan. 21st.—THIS day, an important case. Some villages in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem have complained of exemptions of individuals from paying their share of the taxes, which causes them to fall more heavily on the rest. A Masbata, forbidding all exemptions was passed immediately and unanimously, leaving it open, however, to the parties to make good their claims, if they had any, before a Court of Justice. To obtain appeals from the peasantry is now the great object: it is with extreme difficulty that they can be obtained. Hitherto I know of no case in which the Megilis has refused or delayed justice of this species, and it is wholly gratuitous. The struggle of the Government is to make the people independent. I have used the word "unanimously;" they are not always unanimous. Those who agree, sign the Masbata; those who do not are bound to record the grounds of their dissent.

22nd.—A case was concluded to-day, which suggests serious reflections on the changes in the judicial system.

The excellence of the Mussulman Courts depended alike on the comprehensiveness of the law

and the simplicity of its machinery.* The judge is immovable ;† the process of adjudication is carried on in a familiar manner, and on the oral testimony of the parties brought in presence of each other. To displace such a system, and to overwhelm the Megilis by throwing this work upon it, was at once to destroy what had to be retained, and to pervert what it was intended to create.

The peculiar failing of the people of this district, at least of all such as rise above the dead level, is sympathy for guilt. An aversion for punishment pervades all classes, ensuring, as far as they are concerned, impunity for crime, and depriving it of reproach. The accused man is an injured one, and the condemned felon a martyr. From the commencement to the close of proceedings every sympathy is enlisted for the defence, substracting evidence, falsifying proof, invoking mercy, and, when all these have failed, unrivetting chains and opening the prison doors.

The Turkish Government, formerly blood-thirsty, has oscillated to timidity; it shrinks, as those it apes, at the sight of the sword of justice. Its cha-

* General Galloway, who spent ten years in Arabia to qualify himself for the translation of the Hidayeth used in the administration of the law in India, calls the Mussulman Civil Code, "the greatest effort of human genius."

† The only service ever rendered to England by its Parliament, since it intermeddled in politics, was the enforcing, under Charles II., the immovability of the Judges.

racter is pourtrayed in the familiar expression—"If you want favour at the Porte, only rob and revile it." My first occasion for approaching high officials was for the same purpose as now, the terms being the reverse: then I had to invoke mercy; now the axe. Formerly, when the blow fell, it was suddenly, and mercilessly; in effecting a change it was requisite that there should not be a parade of leniency, for that amounted to a proclamation of impunity. The change was, however, made rapidly, ostentatiously and recklessly; having withdrawn the power of life and death from the Pashas, which was all that was required, they then efface the Courts of Law, substitute Councils in their room; Councils without either precedents, knowledge or integrity, and without superior Courts to coerce them, if they neglect to exercise duly their functions. The case may be understood by the analogy of an English Vestry, on having restored to it its due functions in regard to assessments, being at the same time charged with the business of Bow Street and the Old Bailey. This is a point on which it is next to impossible for a European to form a free judgment, because this judicial perversion, which casts a whole people a prey to the publican, (tax-farmer), forger, bandit and usurer, is but the reflection of that bastard philanthropy which has now taken possession of Europe; which, while gloating in blood shed by the hand of violence, shudders at the very thought of it, when exacted by the law.

If there is one point on which no change was needed, it is the administration of justice. If there be one point on which the people are incapacitated for supplying the place of the Government, it is the administration of justice. If there is one point on which the Government of Constantinople is incapable of serving the provinces, it is the administration of justice.

I now come to the case which has led to these reflections.

The Sœurs de Charité of the Lazarist community brought against a builder a charge of extortion, to a considerable amount, and of a most aggravated nature. On the first hearing, the case was proved on documentary evidence, and the charge admitted by the defendant. There was nothing further to be said; but the members, before issuing their Masbata, wished for time. The matter has been subsequently re-introduced informally, and discussed. On each such occasion some member has brought forward hearsay testimony of the excellent character of the defendant, and has then entreated mercy from his colleagues. A religious body had been defrauded of property held in trust for the sick and poor: the impending Masbata involved no penal consequences, but only that he should refund to the "Sisters" the money which he had obtained from them, on falsified accounts. At last the Bishop became intercessor for the defendant; his grounds were that "his honour" prevented him from

refunding. Upon this the matter drops, that is no decision is come to. There is a point, however, that must not be omitted. This builder has a foreign protection; but it is not the Consul who has interposed to screen him; the members of the Megilis had been to the Consul to get him to interfere, and he had rejected the suggestion with indignation.

The next case was that of an officer in the Customs department, charged with forgery. The Megilis voted the charge proved. The President stated the penalty for the crime, which was five years of the galleys, and directed the Secretary to prepare the Masbata. On this he was interrupted by a member, saying that he had been unacquainted with the penalty, and thought it far too severe. One after another then deprecated, supplicated; the Secretary sat with suspended pen, the President with bewildered looks. Those who wished to see the law executed were afraid to open their lips, lest they should provoke a hostile decision from the majority. And so the matter dropped, the culprit walking forth scot-free.

I took an occasion to say a few indignant words to the member next to me. He shrugged his shoulders, and said, "We are following the example you set us." He then mentioned to me that an English subject had committed forgery, and all that the English Consul did, was to send him away from Beyrout. He shortly afterwards returned. On their remonstrating with the Consul, the answer was, "*He has not forged this time.*"

Another obstacle is to be found in the facility of evasion. No person can be condemned in a Turkish Court by default, the defendant has only to withdraw, and the case is stopped. Elsewhere, indeed, a cavash follows him, and he has to bear the charges of his capture: here, it is otherwise; he has only to get into the jurisdiction of one of the Caimacans of the Lebanon, and he is safe. The plaintiff applies to the Pasha, the Pasha writes to the Caimacan, the Caimacan says, "I will see to it," and there the matter rests. The Pasha has no authority over the Caimacans; and they are all interested in barring all pursuit.

23*rd*.—To-day the Megilis has been called out in its true functions. The Jews of Tiberias had charged the Mudir* with extortion. Many of these Jews are under foreign protection; most of them possess landed property. It may be that this tribe are descendants of the ancient Jews of Tiberias, whom the Romans did not expel; and if so, they may retain some portion of the Celtic blood which probably flowed in the veins of the Jews of that district, a district which, besides others of the Apostles, produced St. Andrew. The foreign protectorate, in which they rejoice, is not exclusive; there are Rayas amongst them. The English Consul, who claims many of them as his "subjects," having "tormented" the Pasha, he provisionally replaced the Mudir, although he has now no such authority,

* The Caimacan is the governor of a Soujac, the Mudir of a Cazas.

and required his presence before the Megilis. The Consul constituting himself the mouthpiece of the appellants, and, as usual, adducing his official character, as the substantiation of his charges, exhibited a case against the Mudir, qualifying him for the gallows. It was now on for settlement: the parties were in presence. The Jews made their charge of extortion and oppression. The Mudir selected one, stated the amount of his trade (£1500), and asked if he had ever exacted a penny from him. The Jew admitted that he had not, but said that was because he had a protection. The Mudir then selected another, unprotected, and put the same question; he too admitted that he had paid nothing. He then produced a document, signed by the chief inhabitants, declaring themselves highly satisfied with their Mudir, begging that he might not be changed, and alleging that this rancour of the Jews proceeded from their having failed in an offer to corrupt him, in order to give a false estimate of the Government lands, which they had usurped. Masbata:—That a commission be sent to verify the alleged exactions from the Jews, and the alleged usurpations by the Jews.

This day, intelligence has been received that a Megilis is to be instituted at Damascus. This is news to take one's breath away. The experiments at Brussa and Adrianople have failed; it is, therefore, on the results of this poor Megilis of ours here, that this great decision has been taken. Yet,

at those two provincial capitals, where the parallel experiments have been made, there was comparatively little to do with public lands; the different populations remained under their distinct judicial systems. There was no trial of a great delinquent to embarrass the march of baseness, and put in play all the springs of corruption. There was no independent and hostile Lebanon administration, no population irrevocably debased, by these places being seats of political Consuls.

Alas, that all this is constructive only, when it could, with so much less trouble, be made natural, and therefore certain, universal and imperishable. Is it then impossible ever to fall on simplicity by chance, or the right path by accident? If the resource of "Sitting Dahrma," of the Hindoo, were open to me, I would choose the door of Reschid Pasha's bedchamber, and he would hear echoing through the night, "Double tithe, and the people their own tax-gatherers." If they want power—there it is. If they want fame—there it is. If they want wealth—there it is. If they want ease—there it is. If they want a satisfied conscience—there it is. But then to do this involves being right, and being right is the rarest of the incidents of humanity, being doubly difficult, as either too hard for their logic, or too child-like for their pride. At all events, I shall not cease to ring it in their ears. It is no longer I, but the people themselves, who cry aloud to them, and say, "We will heap upon you what you want

—gold, and will get what you are trying to give us —independence!"

To govern men is the easiest of all things; good will is all that is wanted; but it is just that which is always wanting. Here the contrary phenomenon is exhibited in those who rule, and a country where there is not, as with us, insuperable obstacles to success. This wonderful combination, which perhaps has never existed before, is to be shipwrecked on such a shoal as this—half a dozen Turks have gossipped in London and Paris!

The Megilis of Beyrout affords to us an important lesson. Here is a small Parliament, in which every member attends in his place during the transaction of business, with a virtue and a patriotism, not excelled even by the weaver at his loom, or the clerk at his desk. There are many things they do, which appear incredible to us: to them it would appear incredible that members of Parliament should accept (not to say seek) an office, which they never perform; for if it be optional in members to be present or absent, there can be no such thing as a Parliament.

24*th.*—I went to-day to visit the prison, if by that name can be called some rooms fitted with slight shaking bars, not the size of the little finger, on the lower windows, and wooden locks on the doors. The apartments are round the court leading to the public offices, on which some of the windows open. It is the old Serai, used by the Governor

before there was a Pasha here. If this people are old with the tongue, they are young indeed with the fingers. In this abode, which would hold our jail birds, as a sieve would water, are assembled all the atrocious delinquents of this extensive Eyalet; and some of them, whom I have seen this day, would do honour to the Newgate Calendar. Here they are safely kept, to the number of eighty, by a mild mannered jailor in chief, of sickly appearance, with two subordinates to assist him.

The first apartment I was led into was large and airy. The prisoners were seated on their carpets, round the raised part. They rose as we entered, and received and returned our salutation. A group of twenty on the left had risen on the soldiers employed in the Messaa; the English Consul had interfered on their behalf. To the right a group of fifteen represented themselves as consular victims, on account of a box, missing from a shipwrecked cargo. Above a hundred persons in the neighbourhood had been arrested and detained for months; it was during harvest time, and their families and houses had been ruined; the rest had been successively dismissed, and the present fifteen brought to Beyrout to await what should be done with them. The centre group was not consular, but for theft or acts of violence; some of them had heavy chains.

We were then taken across the court into a group of three or four apartments, where were assorted graver cases. One room contained murderers, ano-

ther pirates. In the first I was shewn one who had murdered his wife and daughter; another who, having murdered a man, cut off his head and took it to his mother, who had boiled it down to jelly. When we entered the room of the sea attorneys, I was struck by the figure of a young man, who stood forth in the centre, tall, well built, but fine in the limbs and head; with his head and hands slightly advanced he gazed upon us, one by one, with the scowl of a wild beast. He was one of twenty-seven pirates who had risen upon and captured the vessel, in which they were being conveyed to Constantinople. They had taken her to Cyprus, where they were pursued and taken, except this one; who, finding escape cut off, launched a spar, and seating himself upon it, made for the main, 12 miles off. He was in the water three days and three nights, and then reached Tripoli.

I was then taken up stairs to the apartments allotted to the political "Déténus" and the debtors. The first were composed of the Sheiks of Tripoli, concerned in the affair of the burial of the Christian; they were five or six portly and goodly personages, in large turbans and comfortable pelisses, seated cozily, smoking and chatting in a room, the door of which was open, and which had in front a roof-terrace, and access also to the rooms in which the debtors lodged. There were five or six of the latter, and among them the builder who had cheated the Lazarist Sœurs de Charité. None of them seemed

to be under any restraint beyond that of an officer under arrest.

Debtors confined are not supported by the creditors; they have the prison allowance, which is 300 drachms, or 2lbs. of bread daily. They are however allowed any food that is brought them, and as this is Mevlut, or the eve of the Prophet's birthday, I found on my return a mess of pilaff for all the prisoners, which Emin Effendi was sending them; this civility is not uncommon.

I had been induced to visit the prison in consequence of having read in the "Malta Times" a soul-stirring description of its horrors, by a certain Mascarelli, who had been sent away from Beyrout, after having been some time confined here, amid "monsters inhuman, who glared on him with their lack lustre eyes, and infected him with their putrid breath." I naturally inquired for the dungeon where Mascarelli had been confined, and was informed that he had not been in the prison at all, but in the room above where I had seen the Sheiks, having the room to himself, and the same liberty as they had; and that in the adjoining apartments at that time there was but one person confined for debt, who had made his escape. This miscreant has managed for several months to fill the two papers of Malta with the most foul-mouthed abuse of the local authorities of this place, and is the source of those calumnies which I found prevalent here, on my return from Tripoli.

Mascarelli is the advocate of Feti Aga. I was told

that a contract had been drawn up and signed in the shop of the Spanish Consul, between him and the dragoman of the Russian Consul, by which he engaged to write letters against the local authorities to the Malta papers, and the dragoman bound himself to pay 20,000 piastres so soon as "any effect" appeared. The unspecified effect was to be either the removal of the Pasha, or the acquittal of Feti Aga. Some time afterwards the "*Portafoglia Maltese*" sent him a bill of 2500 piastres for the insertion of his letters. Mascarelli claimed that sum at least from the dragoman; the dragoman refused to pay. Mascarelli threatened to reveal the whole to the Pasha, and the dragoman then consented to pay, on condition that the contract was to be modified, but no sooner did he get it into his hands than he tore it. Mascarelli vowed vengeance; but at that moment he was arrested by an order from the Porte. The Russian Consul, thinking that the arrestation was in consequence of this affair, prepared for the storm by dismissing his dragoman; but the Pasha has refused all light on the subject.

As we were quitting the prison, Feti Aga himself appeared, attended by a train that filled up the street, and was double that of the Pasha.

This evening there was to have been a general illumination, but the storm, which has raged for four days, put out the lights and shut in the people. During dinner we had in attendance the chief musicians of the place, and the evening was devoted to merriment. If the Turks do not dance, they sing

for their amusement, and there was a contest between the professional and the amateur performers. Were I to give way to my natural instincts, I should call the noise howling or screeching, or anything but singing. However, their instrumental music has often a different effect; artless, it becomes pleasing, and suggests many trains of thought.

On this occasion we had all the music of the Empire, from Wallachia to the Hedjaz, and sung songs of the olden time, in all the moods.

This story of Mascarelli has much disturbed me. There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the accounts which I have received, and yet the affair is so preposterous in itself, that there must be some more under it than appears. To a power like Russia, the proceedings against Feti Aga are vital, for if they are successful the consequences are incalculable in the way of fortifying the empire.

There can be no question, therefore, that the most intent consideration has been given by Russia to the means of action on the mind of Vamic Pasha; and though of course it is an object to discredit the proceedings in the eyes of Europe, for which its Press furnishes an apt instrument, it is not by such means that Feti Aga is to be supported here, or Vamic Pasha jeoparded at Constantinople. Indeed it is the very reverse. The whole affair looks more like an understanding than a difference with Vamic Pasha; the more so as he is an ambitious man, and I have just heard that there is a project on foot offering the largest scope to that ambition, which is

no less than the resumption of Egypt to the Porte, through his means. If then Russia has obtained a control over him, either by the discovery of some secret, or by that species of corruption through Feti Aga, which has been attempted with his rival (Emin Effendi), or by any other means, it would become an object to establish an appearance of violent antipathy on the part of Russia, for which the reality or the pretence of the agreement with Mascarelli would furnish grounds.

The precariousness of the tenure of a Pasha, and his subserviency to the Consuls, has to be known. The evidence of this state of things is contained in those blue books on Syria which I had brought with me, but which I had had no time since I came into the country to refer back to, until this morning. From them it appears that England can require the disgrace and *punishment* of a Pasha, where no British interest is involved; Russia can thus make England do her work for her, and, when necessary, also brings her direct agency to bear. That is not all; no complaints are to be brought against any British Official. The Porte was about to bring charges against Colonel Rose. The step was anticipated by an announcement on the part of the English Government, that it would listen to no such charges, and that it "would look on any such communication as an evidence of mistrust in the intentions of Great Britain towards Turkey." (Lord Aberdeen to Sir S. Canning, January 22nd, 1842.)

Now let us look at the effect of this position. The English Consul goes up into the Mountain and interferes with the administration. The Pasha is indignant, and writes to Constantinople. The Porte is indignant, and addresses itself to the Ambassador, informing him in the first instance unofficially of the circumstances, relying upon his good offices to obtain from him relief. The reply is, "You shall not bring your charges; we insist upon having as Consul the man who has offended you, and therefore we insist upon the right of interference in your domestic affairs; and moreover we insist upon the disgrace of your functionary, who has dared to report to you such interference." The consequence is that the Consul becomes Pasha. But the Pasha is not replaced by the Consul, in which case the governing obloquy would fall upon England; the Pasha remains apparently master, and so the obloquy of the acts into which he is forced, falls upon the Turkish Government.

This occurred in the year 1842; it never occurred before. This then is a new feature in the world. No Consul, before 1840, interfered with the administration of the country. We must look then to the change operating to bring it about. What is its cause? It is very evident to those who know, and not visible to those who do not. It is the Press. Marshal Bugeaud has said, "Since we have a Press, nobody knows anything." Since we have a Press, anything can be done with us. So

soon as you can produce indistinct thought, by means of controversial writing, the faculty disappears of resisting what is wrong, because you no longer know what is right. All the characters of manhood, energy, knowledge, purpose, henceforward become the property of the evil doers; the rest are mere flimsy talkers. You have a world of wretches, disposed of by the energetic few, and they acquire intensity of purpose from the mere disgust which they experience for the creatures they can lash. The feeling was expressed by Nadir Shah, which must have entered the mind of every great disturber of the world, by means of arms, so must it be present to the spirit of every disturber of the world by means of art —"I am the scourge of God."

That at this moment Beyrout is the important point for Russia, is exemplified in my own presence here. I should not be here if I did not judge that for me it is the important point of the world. I have already given the evidence of that judgment, and if it is so to me, it is so to her. What are to me hopes, are to her fears. It is here that at the present time the reconstruction of the Empire is involved; that for her is what has to be prevented.

The Lebanon is an English and French preserve, and Russia has nought there to do; of course she too has only there some broken down expectant or cast off mistress's husband! By no means, her Consul is a *Fanariot*.

His early history was a myth, until a former

French Consul at Beyrout arrived here, recognized him and interpreted it. He had been formerly Private Secretary to Admiral Heyden, during the whole filth of Greece, and that most admirable of all pieces of management, the battle of Navarino. A cloud then came over him, and he was transferred in the direction of the Russian penal settlements. But his talents were again recognized, and favour was restored to him, after the accomplishment of a service of peculiar difficulty—that of affording the opportunity of making an example of a suspected garrison, which, some how or other, was seduced into a revolt. He then re-appeared in the Western world, and his destination was Beyrout. It was there that he afforded his valuable assistance to Chekib Effendi, in drawing up this celebrated regulation, which document proved that he had a master-hand in that species of composition. His admiration is unbounded for Chekib Effendi, whom he terms the model of administrators, whilst it singularly happens that Osman Bey, sent to supervise the trial of Feti Aga, who, despising the weak prejudices of the Turks, visits at the Russian consulate, designates M. Basili the model of Consuls. He is said to act on Colonel Rose, as a galvanic battery on a frog. "It is curious," said the extenuating dragoman of the latter, the other day to the Pasha, "that my chief is never in a passion, except when M. Basili has just left him."

CHAPTER XII.

A CIVIL WAR ARRANGED BY SHEIK SAÏD, BUT FRUSTRATED.

March 13*th.*—THIS was to have been my last day in the Lebanon. The steamer touches once a fortnight, and was expected early this day. I had so far recovered from my long confinement, that I was enabled to profit by it, and I consequently was early on foot, and got down to Beyrout by eight in the morning. I shall hold as one of the most fortunate incidents of my life, my having moved at this hour. An hour later and this country, at the moment at which I write, would have been already given over to fire and the sword.

On reaching the residence of Emin Effendi, I found every one in consternation. Entering his room, I saw him pacing it in extreme agitation, and dictating to a Secretary. He said, "Don't interrupt me; moments are precious. The people has risen, and the insurrection must instantly be quashed." Meanwhile he told the Secretary to translate to me the dispatch that he had received. That dispatch, from Izzet Pasha, announced that the inhabitants of Jezzin had beaten the troops, and he required an order immediately to vindicate the honour of the

Sultan's arms. It was that order that was being dictated, and it was to the effect that he should proceed instantly to Jezzin, taking with him whatever number of troops he judged necessary, to put down the insurrection, and restore order. On learning this much I interposed, by asking what he was about. He answered sternly, "Doing my duty." I replied in the same tone, "You are falling into a flimsy trap. What do the Sheiks want, but to compromise the Sultan's troops with the people, and the moment they seize is, when the Pasha is absent, to involve and thereby to sacrifice you. I implore you, at least before you proceed, to state to me the case that has been reported." These words, and especially the last, confounded him. He had not read the enclosures! We now sat down to their perusal. They consisted of statements by three different individuals, and these were not only incoherent but contradictory.

The first point that came out was, that the beating of the troops did not mean the rout of a body of men, but the inflicting of some blows with sticks on certain individuals: it was not an action, but a brawl. Then it appeared that the Turkish soldiers, some three or four in number, had been put forward by the Hawalis of Saïd Bey, who had then turned upon them and excited the people to the outrage.

I inquired who had given the orders for the presence or employment of the Turkish troops at all? *He did not know.* I begged him to tear up

the half written order, and to replace it by another, for the recall of the troops from Jezzin, which he did at once; adding that all the parties concerned should be despatched to Beyrout, to answer for their conduct. The matter so far settled as regards Emin Effendi, was still nevertheless alarming. Izzet Pasha was supreme in the military department, and not a man to be moved or influenced when once aroused, especially on a point of military honour. The ultimate decision besides rested with the Megilis. That it would be for extreme measures, possessed as they were with that wonderful infatuation about holding the balance, we had no doubt. There remained nothing but to anticipate its conclusions by steps taken in the meantime, for which the concurrence of Izzet Pasha was absolutely necessary. It was therefore decided, that Emin Effendi should go at once to him, and that I should remain ready to follow.

Now a new dilemma presented itself. He informed me, that during the last two weeks there had been at Beyrout a deputation from Jezzin, clamorously demanding justice against Sheik Saïd, and threatening if it were refused to set fire to Jezzin. They were not listened to, on the grounds that the Pasha had no authority in the matter. It was as essential to content and restrain these suppliants, as it was to content and restrain Izzet Pasha, and the difficulty in each case doubled that of the other. As matters now stood, unless some compromise

could be arrived at, war would be raging within the week; but no longer a civil war. It would be a revolt against the Sultan. It was now also clear why Sheik Saïd had pushed matters to extremities. It was therefore settled, that whilst Emin Effendi went to the Pasha, I should receive the deputation from Jezzin; that each should immediately communicate to the other by messenger, so that we should reciprocally know on what grounds we stood.

The people from Jezzin soon presented themselves, headed by three priests. The conference lasted four painful hours. In the course of it I received three messages; the first, that no troops should be sent; the second, that those at Jezzin should be withdrawn; the third, an hour later, that the sum of arrears demanded should be reduced to one-third. On my part, I had to send two messages; the first, that the case upon which they were acting, was wholly different from the circumstances upon which they had to decide; the second, an entreaty to suspend every decision till we had had the opportunity of conferring. I cannot undertake to put what passed on paper. The facts elicited were the following.

Jezzin and its dependent villages, amounting to 43, and containing 3000 taxable males, had been rated in the settlement of Chekib Effendi at about 45,000 piastres, which partly consisted in a poll-tax of 10 piastres per head, and partly of a property-tax. Only one payment had been made; it was

four years ago. They then discharged their liabilities for the three previous years. They did not know the amount that had been collected, but they had paid the poll-tax, at the rate of 20 piastres a head, which was double the sum due. They produced the Masbata for that payment, according to which the two taxes are estimated for Jezzin and seven villages, 37 belonging to Saïd Bey bearing only the one tax, the poll; so that the property-tax fell exclusively on the others. They therefore complained of the whole property-tax being thrown upon them, together with a double poll-tax. This overcharge they had known only after the payment had been made; and consequently they had resisted all subsequent demands for all taxes whatever, and had paid none for four years, alleging that the 20 piastres poll-tax for the past five years was a discharge for the 10 piastres subsequently due for the ensuing four years. Saïd Bey, not content with demanding the whole sum, as before, required in addition 12,000 piastres, and had recently demanded a second 12,000, which was the occasion of the present deputation. They had determined not to pay, under any pretext, a single para, whether as tax or on account, till they were discharged from the demand. After a long and warm debate, I succeeded in getting them to admit the basis of the payment of 1845.

At this time the message reached me from Emin Effendi and Izzet Pasha, that they would reduce

the demand of arrears to one-third. I at once announced this concession, considering it more favourable to them than the grounds on which they had already permitted me to negotiate. The announcement, however, produced an explosion so vehement that no attempt was made at reply, and the whole number, rising at once, rushed out, and down into the street.

On its being represented to them, that what I had said was not a proposal of mine, but a message from the authorities; and that I should only appear in the matter as their servant, to obtain for them justice, they returned; though the discussion was long and angry among themselves before they did so. The expression of each countenance was changed; they glared with their eyes, and their fingers worked; and though against me personally no passion could be excited, I had a foretaste of the ferocity of a Lebanon civil war. The explosion, however, had exhausted them, and gave me the opportunity of giving expression to the feelings of admiration excited by a people ready to sacrifice their all on a point of honour. The last message had reversed the position in a singular manner; the people insisting on paying 45,000 piastres, and the Government insisting that they should not pay more than 15,000 (one-third). Finally, the original terms of negotiation, the immediate payment of poll-tax of 20 piastres for four years, *in lieu* of other demands, was altered to withdrawal of all other

demands of Sheik Saïd, and payment of the poll-tax at 20 piastres for four years. This was a very different result from what I expected, and what I should have obtained except for the unfortunate concession; and it was raising precisely the dangerous point of honour with the Megilis. However, I could not do otherwise than accept the mission, as I could not but commend their spirit, and had no doubts as to the justice of their claim. The important point was, however, that I could speak in their name, and so had standing ground in the Megilis.

On entering the Megilis the messenger was in the act of receiving a Boyourdi for Jezzin, and a letter for the Caimacan. I begged them to hear me before they acted. The two documents were read; the Boyourdi was a severe rebuke to the village, the letter a still more severe one to the Caimacan, charging him with the purpose of committing the Turkish troops against the people. I observed that I had listened to matters on which I had no right to speak, unless they wished to hear; and so being questioned, I replied that the one document would exasperate the people, and the other the Caimacan; and while they imagined they were holding the balance between the two, they were really giving their power to the oppressor against the oppressed. The people were not to know the contents of the letter; and the Caimacan could make concessions, and would appear to do so of himself for the protection of the people against the

provincial authorities. A discussion of three hours ensued, and ended by my getting the substance of the private letter inserted in the Boyourdi. It was only after this that the affair of the people of Jezzin came on.

I nakedly stated their terms, on which there was an explosion, if not equal in intensity, surpassing in vehemence that of the morning. They did not rush into the street, but seemed much inclined to cast me thither. All I could expect now was to postpone a decision; for this the elements were not wanting in their various passions. From sheer exhaustion, and far on in the night, the matter was adjourned.

I returned home even more pained in spirit than fatigued in body, oppressed with the sense of the precarious condition of the country, which the slightest incident might, at any moment, replunge into anarchy. Here there was no immediate disturbing influence on the part of the Consuls: Colonel Rose was absent; the Russian Consul abstains from all ostensible interference, and the French Consul had no time to act, had he been so disposed.

14*th*.—This morning we had an early and private meeting at the residence of Izzet Pasha. I was not very sincere in the surprise I exhibited on ascertaining that neither did he know by what authority the troops had been sent to Jezzin. He and Emin Effendi now saw it all, and were at once humbled and thankful; when I proposed to with-

draw Jezzin from Saïd Bey, as a means of anticipating the debate in the Megilis, they instantly agreed. In reliance on this diversion, a further document was added to the two of last night, which had not been despatched, stating that the disputed points of taxation and arrears should be reserved for decision by Emin Effendi, and making mention of the Deputation as having obtained this result. With this I was able to meet the Jezzin people: the Pasha went to the Megilis to delay proceedings until my answer was received.

I commenced with placing before the Deputation the extreme difficulty with which the danger had been averted, the prospect of a better state of things when the Messaa was settled, as by it Saïd Bey's property would pay its due share, so reducing their obligations by three quarters. I then stated the contents of the Boyourdi, and as much of that of the letter to the Caimacan as I had been permitted to do. They listened in silence, and as I proceeded I thought they were content. When I had done, they rose; tendered their thanks, each advancing separately for that purpose, and then moved in a body to the door. I had no suspicion of what had happened till I heard the vociferation outside of those who had first left; then cries of indignation began to rise in the street. So I sent to request, as a favour, their return, and told them that I wished to guard against a mistake which they might make; that what I had stated was not a decision, but a

narrative of steps taken to arrive at such a decision, as they would be content with. They replied that they were heedless of consequences, and would quit Jezzin after throwing their hodgets (title-deeds) at Saïd Bey's feet, and burning the town. I made a last attempt to place before them their utter powerlessness to resist, and implored them to consider both themselves and their families before bringing destruction on their heads. But they now seemed to listen only to passion, and I sent them away, after reproaching them for their folly, and their township for sending such wilful and headstrong representatives.

I went straight to the Megilis, and calling Emin Effendi out, narrated the scene. In the meantime intelligence had arrived of revolution in two Druze villages; every hour matters were becoming graver. It was understood that the whole of the Sheiks were watching either for the rejection of the demands of Jezzin, or for concession to it; in the first case to organize a united opposition, in the other to demand a reduction: each (now that the troops had been involved in raising the tax) leading to an insurrection, or to a disturbance of sufficient magnitude to frustrate the Messaa. Another difficulty was in the way; the Porte had ordered the payment of the arrears, and there was no disobeying. The money was for the troops; that was the way in which Izzet Pasha had got compromised into sending men to look after it in the hands of the

Mucatajis, and whom Saïd Bey and the Caimacan had immediately involved in collecting it from the people. The money had to be got, and if the people of Jezzin would not pay voluntarily, the Sheiks would declare that they had not force to coerce them. There was the dilemma. I however anticipated that the scene which had occurred with the people of Jezzin would not remain without effect on the Megilis, whilst a re-action might ensue with themselves. They were now assembled in the street before us; after giving them time to reflect, I went out, attended not by an interpreter but by a sergeant, who could interpret for me. It happened as I expected; they came round me, imploring my mediation. Acting on this change, I called Emin Effendi out into the street, and addressing him on their behalf, offered to accept his decision if he would act independently of the Pasha and the Megilis. They re-echoed the words. "Then," he said, "it is finished; what you can pay, pay that, and on the account on which you hold it due." They answered, "We will pay the one-third of the arrears, and you shall decide whether they be arrears or tax." He left me with them, and when I re-entered the Megilis, the members rose, standing while the President formally returned me thanks.

I may now look back, not only on what would have happened that had to be prevented, had I sailed yesterday morning, but on what we have in hand, as positively gained. The money raised, the

people contented, the Sheiks threatened, the soldiers withdrawn; and the honour of the Sultan's troops vindicated, not by slaughtering his subjects, but by an order which shall prevent their future degradation into tax-gatherers. The Lebanon itself here sinks into insignificance; Sheik Saïd, had he been successful, would have converted the whole Turkish army into an instrument of oppression. That army which at present secures the Empire from attack from without, would lay it prostrate within, from the moment that line of demarcation is passed. No men can feel this more strongly than now do the Turkish administrators here. Whatever may ensue hereafter, in that respect the lesson will not be forgotten. Nor can this lesson be forgotten by the people.* If I have returned home to-night with satisfaction in my heart, Emin Effendi may lay his head on his pillow, with pride, as well as satisfaction, for the word of a Turk once given, passions were allayed, and confidence restored.

Fearing that the part I had taken might have the effect of increasing the disposition of referring to foreigners, I explained to them, on their paying me a final visit, that I had appeared in it, first, solely

* The effect of this incident did endure; it was through it that the Lebanon failed in its part in the general insurrection, planned for 1852, which failed in all its other parts equally. The Turkish troops have, since that time, been kept out of the broil, and to these causes have to be referred the delay of the Syrian Insurrection for eight years; that is to say, from 1852 to 1860.

Note 1860.

at the request of the authorities, and secondly, solely as their delegate; that had I happened to be a foreign Consul, with every disposition to serve them, I should have been precluded from so doing; because the very fact of my saying a word in their favour would have rendered the authorities deaf to every consideration, save those suggested by their offended self-love. I therefore warned them against referring hereafter to a Consul. They, one and all, protested against any such thoughts. I expressed my astonishment to hear them speak in a sense so opposite to the habits of the country. They said that they had learned by dear experience the result of consular interference. I imagined that they were merely adapting themselves to what they thought would be agreeable, and told them so; but they substantiated their words. They said, "Have you not seen our despair? We have been here 15 days; we have sat before this door all these days; our prayer has been rejected; yet we have sat here. At last we said to one another, where shall we go? and we answered each other, let us go home, or *to Constantinople.* Who ever saw one of us at the door of a consulate?"

March 15th.—To-day I had Emin Effendi and the French Consul to dinner. The former, to my surprise, entered frankly into the affair of Jezzin, and the latter mentioned a curious incident which explained the sudden change in the Deputation, between the time that I had dismissed them and their return.

The dragoman I had employed belonged to the French consulate, but he is also one of the most important persons in the place. His name is Maron Nacash, the first, if not the only Arab poet of these times, and the author of their first play, and has recently been appointed judge in the newly instituted commercial court. The Jezzin people recognized him, and addressed him by name.

After I had turned them out, he passed them in the street. They came to him to beg to be enlightened, for they were in utter confusion; so completely was fixed in their mind the association between Saïd Bey and Englishmen, that when sent to me they could only see in me the English Consul (indeed they persisted in calling me so), and therefore the patron of Saïd Bey; so they interpreted the reference to me, as a conclusion of the authorities to support Saïd Bey at all costs. When then they recognized the interpreter of the French consulate, they were utterly lost. Seeing him, while in this perplexity, they implored him to solve the enigma; he told them that there was nothing to do here with English or French Consul; that I was a friend of Emin Effendi, and as such sought to settle the matter, and that they were a set of fools, rushing on their own destruction. It was then that, relieved from the dread of being the victims of an intrigue, they followed me to the Seraï to make the unconditional surrender, which was responded to by granting them more than they had originally asked. Another inci-

dent is worth recalling. They asked why they could not have a Turk for a Governor, and why the people of Deir el Cammar should alone have that privilege? They used the very words of the people of Samos, "All we want is a Pasha." I told them to offer to bring the money, and pay it into the hands of the Turkish authorities. They had done so, but the offer was refused. When now told that they might pay it to the officer sent to receive it for Saïd Bey, there was an exclamation of delight, as if they had been relieved from any payment at all. In one of the other insurrectionary villages the money, the payment of which was resisted to the Mucatajis, was actually brought to the Turkish officer. Will it be believed that this state of things should be designated by our ambassador at Constantinople as "the rights of the people of the Lebanon?"

On making inquiry as to the cause of the absence of the Pasha at so critical a moment, I learnt that nobody knew. He had started suddenly for a roving visit through the Pashalic. He missed the *emeute* at Jezzin so narrowly, that there was but some hours interval between it and his departure from Beyrout.

In Article 4 of "Instructions of Chekib Effendi to the two Megilis," it is provided "that a list of public obligations of each district, and of the particular obligations of each village and each monastery, shall every year be prepared by each Megilis, under the personal superintendence of the Caimacan." On

referring to the schedule, prepared in obedience to this instruction for the Jezzin district of ten villages, I find poll-tax and property-tax, 32,570 piastres; 36 villages paying poll-tax only, 4160 piastres; one village paying only property-tax, 1272 piastres; 2 monasteries paying 618 piastres (under what denomination is not specified); 1 monastery paying 1919 piastres, both as poll and property-tax; 5 Sheiks paying altogether 2394 piastres; Sheik Saïd Jumbellat is put down separately, as paying 2696 piastres. Total, 45,629 piastres.

March 17th.—What a storehouse of abominations are those Blue Books on Syria! They have perfectly understood all along what hangs on allowing the people to collect their own taxes. Mr. Wood (September 7, 1841) reports himself to have said to the people, "The Sublime Porte could never be brought to receive only a certain sum of money from its Provinces, without interfering in their respective administrations." To disorganize a State, no less than to reconstruct it, its elements must be understood. They require no spies to tell them what I am about. The discovery may be startling, but the struggle assumes a loftier character. So, then the remission of the 200,000 piastres in 1834, to Samos, was no accident.

CHAPTER XIII.

MARONITE CONNECTION WITH FRANCE.

March 18th.—THE foreign relations are dreadfully oppressive. The English Consul sent his dragoman to demand account of proceedings at Latakia against a Christian who had become Mussulman and had turned Christian again. Four or five years ago, on the occasion of a similar double apostacy and execution of an Armenian at Constantinople, the English Government had coerced the Porte into a promise to abolish the penalty of death for apostacy; a measure beyond its competency. Since then instructions have been sent to the Consuls throughout the Empire to act vigorously in all such cases. Besides the indignation which at all times must be aroused in the breast of the sufferer by a violation of the law of nations, and the more so when it is for no gain, but merely fanaticism, these cases afford the most artfully imagined occasions at once for exciting the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, and for perplexing the provincial Government. In the present case the Consul, in a second communication, declared that he only interfered officiously, and with a friendly view, and suggested that the person in question should not

be sent, as had been proposed by the Megilis of Latakia, to Aleppo, but allowed to go where he pleased. Another version however of the circumstance reached Beyrout, from which it appeared that the English consular agent there had demanded that the renegade be given up to him, declaring that he acted by the orders of his Government, and on this demand the man had been given up. What makes the atrocious proceeding more absurd is that the man is a Greek, and Mr. Basili, his natural protector, never opens his lips. How absurd is it to see the patron of the worshippers of the man-god Hakim (the Druzes) pretending to be fanatic as a Christian, to a pitch never dreamt of in the midst of the Crusades. The Government here are delighted to escape any way for the moment, not seeing that they have allowed a precedent to be established. It always begins with "officious" communications or advice, and then they turn to official. As far as proselytism is concerned it works just the wrong way. It will facilitate the embracing of Islam, not of Christianity, making it easy again to abjure it; but all the ambassadors and consuls look to is the opportunity of interference.

March 20th.—The Pasha, who had started so suddenly on his journey ten days ago, and so secretly that no one was aware of his purpose till the morning of his departure, is, we hear, rivalling Haroon el Raschid, and goes about the bazaars of Acre disguised as a mendicant. Being of a singular figure and large dimensions, everybody of course knows

him but himself. At Saïda he addressed to the notables a discourse in set terms on the duties of men and Government, ending with a no measured denunciation of those, who, being placed in authority to punish evil-doers, become themselves oppressors. At Sour he encamped at the Pools of Solomon, and the Metuali chiefs having notice of his arrival, hastened to pay their respects. They were left a long time outside, and when at length admitted, the conference consisted in the following sentences:

Pasha. What do you want?

Metualis. We have come to present our duty, and to have the happiness to visit your Excellency.

Pasha. Visit me! I live at Beyrout. I have been there two years. You have not come to visit me; but now I am come to visit you. I am come to see that the people have their rights, and that you do not wrong them. Go home, take back your horses (they had brought horses as a present), and take care not to give occasion for my seeing you, or hearing of you again.

My informant, a European resident at Saïda, and who has resided in Syria 25 years, was in raptures. The contrast, he said, between former times and the present, is this, that now there are abuses, then there was violence. The people then trembled for the ferocity of the Pashas, now they have only to apprehend their leniency.

March 22nd.—This day, being Friday, had been fixed for an excursion to the Pines. It had oc-

curred to me to suggest to Emin Effendi to sow some copses of them, as former noted Governors have done, from Fakreddeen down to Ibrahim Pasha, and so perpetuate his name. But he already had the same idea, and had prepared a surprise for me, in twelve hundred weight of seed from the Mountain. The Pines wore this day a mantle of more than wonted loveliness; their red columns ascending from the green groves or fields of the youthful progeny around, and their tufted heads scattered, as it were, through the landscape of mountains and clouds, which shone under the glowing sky and in the glassy air.

We inspected the woods, and selected a place for the new plantation.* Of the large trees, 45 only still stand: two have been blown down this year; they are about 15 feet in circumference, and the trunk 60, after the branches have been chopped off. These are the trees supposed to have been planted by Fakreddeen, who was put to death 154 years ago, but they are twice as old; I counted in one, 317 rings. They had passed their prime, and were rotted in parts, so that the age of the Snowbar may be fixed at three centuries. Of the remaining copses, the oldest is 45 years, the youngest 12. They are regularly dressed every two years, and the Treasury receives 21,000 piastres for the branches. They are in fields of different heights, and there is

* I am informed that this plantation now bears my name—sic vos non vobis.—*Note* 1860.

scarcely any verdure under their dark shade on the red sand. The plantations are extensive, but occupy a small portion only of the sandy district which extends from the shore on the south, and along it for a dozen miles; the breadth may be three. It does not flow in an even sweep, but presents hills and gaps, and amongst them you might suppose yourself in the desert, thousands of miles from the haunts of men. This mass, moved by the S.S.W. wind, is advancing steadily upon the plain of Beyrout with a speed which suggests the not distant submerging of plain and city; and as at its present rate of speed the whole must have been swallowed up long ago had it equally advanced in former times, the people fancy that there are fountains of sand as of water, and that it is of the nature of an Irish travelling bog. This land has been covered with gardens and culture even within the memory of the people, and probably from the first settlement of the country, so that the sand has only within two or three generations resumed its peregrinations, arrested during five or six thousand years. There are yet rude burying-grounds to be seen, and the part on the coast lying nearest to Beyrout bears the name of "Gardens of the Metuali." When the new sand is blown off, and leaves the old sand bare, it is intermingled with pottery of all periods, and pieces of brick and marble. I picked up some fragments of Phœnician glass. There are two kinds of sand, one red and the other pale yellow; it is the

latter of which the people imagine that there is a fountain: it is blown up from the sea; the other is a deposit. The point of Rass Beyrout is high and rocky, and of course no sand rises; but to the south it is low, and with a beach exposed to the S.S.W. wind; wherever it is so, you have sand blowing up. Its progress is chiefly perceptible at the northernmost point; it advances, not like a drift, but like the works of a siege, up to 20 feet in height, the talus rolling over houses and gardens. You see the shoots alone coming through from mulberry trees that have been pruned last year; the sand had reached the root of a lemon tree in a garden, and the proprietor told us that at the last ploughing he had turned up 20 furrows between it and the sand. The extreme northernmost angle of this invasion seems as if traced by an engineer against the southernmost tower of Beyrout. It is a trenching battery opened on that place, and in its sweep, unless arrested by vegetation, will take in the entire city.

25*th*.—An incident induces me again to record the proceedings of the Megilis. The peasants of two villages belonging to Acre, being unable to pay their taxes, had offered all they had, which was oil. The case was referred to the Megilis of Beyrout. A Masbata had been issued for the sale of the oil at Acre, from day to day as it arrived, the Treasurer to receive the money, and the surplus, after the tax was liquidated, to be refunded to the villages: a member of the Megilis of Acre was appointed to

conduct the business. The oil was bought by a French merchant, at the price of the market, and warehoused as it came to hand. The Pasha, however, has ordered the oil to be seized and put up to public auction, because the transaction was oppressive to the people, whose produce had been "usurped." Such is the fruit of this visitation of the Pasha.

The Megilis had themselves sold the oil, and now, when the price is high, they go to the Pasha and say, "See how the foreign merchants cheat the people."

If this plot succeeds, European merchants will be deterred from dealing with the peasants, who will be thus thrown on the class of persons comprising the Megilis. The Pasha is made use of, by means of his desire to protect the people; and the Megilis shuts out from him the truth, because to his eyes they represent the people.

Legislators, whose works have endured, do not begin in the style of that easiest species of literary composition—"There shall be a council, it shall consist of fifty members, they shall be chosen by ballot, &c."

March 28th.—For the last ten days I have had no time to make notes. The Megilis on the one hand, conversations on the other, occupying every moment that is not actually needed for sleep. It is hard work with the Turkish officials; it is impossible to do anything without their entire concurrence, and that concurrence is impossible, unless they are

quite prepared to sacrifice themselves. My labour now is to make them accept this sacrifice. One of them has made the declaration in the presence of the rest. What I have now to fear is, the ulterior objects of Vamic Pasha, in reference to Egypt.

On the other hand a most encouraging change has taken place in the Maronites. I have mentioned the inhospitable treatment I received in the Maronite Caimacanship. That was partly, but not entirely, explained by the affair of the Missionaries at Eden. I have since ascertained that the feeling was much deeper, and also very complex; it has only come out by degrees. First, there was the antipathy against me as an Englishman, a very bitter feeling since their obedience to the summons of England, to take up arms against Emir Beshir and France. My association with the Druzes, which ought to have dispelled the first illusion, only aggravated it; and so also my association with the Turkish Government. But what was worst of all, was my estimation of the Turkish character, which provoked them not only in a religious, but a social sense, as affecting their self-love. On the top of this, came the affair of Jezzin; their gratitude is now augmented by the full amount of their prior antipathy. Their first confidential overtures came in the shape of a request that I would not quit the country, for the morning after I had left, they would be cutting each other's throats.

The cleverest man at present among the Ma-

ronites, is Mottran Tobias. I shall, therefore, only take note of my conversations with him. These have been long and multiplied, and in the course of them everything has been gone through. On one occasion he said to me, "Whence comes your predilections for the Turks?" I answered, Whence come your predilections for the Christians? (I will endeavour to give it in the form of question and answer.)

Bishop. "I am a Christian."

What has that to do with the matter?

"It seems to me that it has everything to do with the matter."

Well, perhaps you are right, for if you are a Christian, you act upon the rules laid down by Christ, and you adopt his life as the model of yours; and Christ has said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Therefore you, being a Christian, have to judge the Turks by their conduct, and the Christians by their conduct, and not by their bearing either the one name or the other.

"Well, so judging I see in Christians faith; and in Turks, infidelity."

I see exactly the reverse. It all depends upon what we mean by the word "faith."

On this we ran through the social virtues, and the public duties, the contrast in each of which he could not help admitting; having always to bring him back to the point, that in the words of Christ and the Apostles, wickedness and infidelity were syno-

nymous, and that what was preached was repentance and conversion, not in the modern sense of that word. The transition was easy, to the unchristian character of the nations of Europe, and the sin that was involved in every act of what they called their "policy." After this conversation, the fanatical part was allayed, and discussion was opened on the merits of the case.

In another conversation I put to him directly and distinctly the consequences that would follow for them individually on the occupation of the country by any European Power, independently of the struggle itself. I shewed him that the sudden introduction of our social system, would at once paralyze all means of Government, there being neither the habits of submission to systematic wrong, and class oppression, nor the evil intelligence in administration, which we call public spirit, nor the funds, arms, placemen, which we have created for carrying it out, nor any of the expedients, devised and perfected among us in a long course of years, to fill the place of the Patriarchal element, which here supplies all deficiencies, which is politeness. I shewed him that they had a foretaste of Europe, in the Tariff, the Caimacanship, and the Consuls. If he wanted more, he might judge of the fate that awaited them, by what was now doing in India since the English Government was usurping the station of the East India Company; in Circassia, where they could appreciate the Russians; and in Algeria, where they could understand France.

I now come to a conversation I have just had, and of greater importance; an exposition of the position of the Maronites towards France, which I set down as nearly as possible in his own words.

"I wish you to know that we are not attached to France. France is to us an oppression, from which we would be most happy to escape; we have proved this by acts, but no account is taken of them. How France came to be considered our protector is an old story, into which it is needless to enter. The connection awakened against us the hatred of the Turks and of the Greeks, and to it may be attributed the past suffering of our people from both. Here and in the other parts of Syria, in Egypt and in Cyprus, from the middle of the last century to the close of the campaign of Napoleon, we reckon that the blood of 40,000 Maronites has been shed by the Turks or the Greeks. This is the debt we owe to French protection. When, in 1840, the French Government sent to us to require us to support Ibrahim Pasha and Emir Beshir, we gave a flat refusal. M. —— came to Saida, and sent a messenger to the Patriarch (of the house of Habesh) who sent his own secretary to give him the answer, which had been decided on by the Bishops and Chiefs, which was: "the Maronites had heard much of, but had never seen, the fruit of the protection of France, and could not, in the hope of it, expose themselves to the risks they were now required to run." Then the English Government sent to us an

agent, a Catholic (Mr. Wood), accompanied by M. Stendel, on the part of the Austrian Government, proposing to us to accept the protection of Austria in lieu of that of France. We declined to make any application for such protection, and we complained to Mr. Wood of the interference, in our religion, of the Protestant Missionaries, which made us look with suspicion on the intentions towards us of the English Government. He assured us that the English Government was opposed to all missionary schemes, and suggested that we should draw up a petition to the Turkish Government, requesting the Missionaries to be prohibited from entering the country, promising that the English Ambassador would obtain from the Porte an order to that effect. Satisfied with these assurances, we aided in the expulsion of Mehemet Ali, although he had every way favoured the Maronites.

"The promised order respecting the Missionaries never came. England set up a Protestant Bishop, and obtained from the Porte the formal recognition of the Protestants as a body. She dictated, first the Caimacan system, and then the Consul here suggested to Chekib Effendi his plan, which were all blows levelled at the Maronites. Never before were there Druze governors in the Lebanon. While appearing to set up Druzes only over Druzes, the unhappy Christians were subjugated to the rule of these barbarians, and the very Pasha was left without the power of affording redress. France did

nothing to protect us, but instead took that moment to wrest from us three or four monasteries, to confer them on the Lazarists and other religious communities of her own; by means of these, taking out of our hands the education of our children, and bringing them up to be Frenchmen instead of Maronites. Several of our nation, of greatest weight, went to Colonel Rose, to explain to him that the English Government was quite mistaken in supposing that the Maronites were attached to France; that they were anxious to free themselves from her; that they had proved this by following the suggestions of England despite of France; and, finally, that the course he was pursuing was precisely the one to force them into this dependence; that it was needless to take up the Druzes to counteract French influence which did not exist; and that England, if she wished to have influence, could have it with the Maronites. The only reply of Colonel Rose, was, "You are, soul and body, French; England has no alternative but to support the Druzes." We have several times attempted to make the Turkish Government aware of these circumstances; it says it can do nothing against the Powers.

"When Halil Pasha was here, we made another effort, and he suggested to us to address to the Porte a petition to relieve us from the protection of France. We answered, "Why do you not send us an order!" He said the Porte feared to do so. We said, "Who is the Sultan, and who are we? Shall we do that which the Sultan fears to do?"

"What course ought we to adopt; is there a chance of England changing her conduct, and affording us her protection?"

I replied:—If England afforded you protection, she would not change. She has given you her protection once, she may give it you again; but the end will be the same. There are but one of two courses; either she deals honestly or dishonestly. If she is honest, she will have nothing to say in your affairs, and she will prevent others from having anything to say in them. But that is not what we have to do with at present. It is with your position in reference to your own Government. The connection of Maronite and Druze with England and France is in itself traitorous, and threatens the Ottoman Empire with dismemberment. Against that danger it is the duty of the Porte to provide, if even by your extermination; it is what any European Government would do without a moment's hesitation. It is even what those very Governments suggest to the Porte. I have myself heard the agent of one of your Protectors say to a Turkish official, "Finish the business your own way." This may come without any formal decision; you see what you have just escaped at Jezzin; you know what happened in 1841, and again in 1845. In 1845 there were but 400 Turks in the Lebanon; now there are 1500 in the heart of the Mountain, and 12,000 round it, independently of those at Damascus, which, in the recent affair of Zachle, were on the point of being sent there.

"This view of the case had not presented itself to me; but I have, nevertheless, entertained the gravest apprehension for the future. I have felt that we were walking on a volcano: now I see it. My fears had been only for the Druzes; I had not considered the effect on the Turkish Government—(after a pause), Shew me a way of safety."

Appeal to the Druzes in the name of those interests which for 800 years have united you. Find indignation against the wretch who degrades his people by mendicating foreign patronage. Destroy the suspicions of the Porte, and enlighten it on its true interests and your own. Relieve it from the fears of your introducing into the heart of Asia, the Power which has driven it from the coast of Africa, and the Power which has dismembered it in Greece.

"You think, then, that we should send a petition to the Porte to release us from the protection of France?"

I am gratified to find that you are so disposed.

"Can France injure us for doing so?"

France has no external spontaneous motion, and if she had, she would aid, not thwart you. You are a burden to her, that is to her Government, as much as she is to you.

"Still it will be annoying to her, to have England the patron of the Druzes."

The pretext of England's patronage of the Druzes would be taken away: you may see the Druzes themselves taking a step equivalent to yours.

"Ah! If that could be! But they have gained all, and we have lost all."

Whatever you reckon as gain to them, they reckon as loss to themselves and gain to you. You said yourself, that Colonel Rose "was prepared to sacrifice the whole of the Lebanon to one man, and that if Sheik Saïd were removed he would think it a gain, if the whole people were destroyed." The Druzes are sacrificed just as the Maronites are, and that is what you gain, by your medding with Consuls.

"We have no sympathies with the Turks, but we are perfectly aware of the advantage we enjoy in having a Turkish instead of an English, French, Austrian or Russian master. We would, to a man, take up arms to keep the Turks in power at Constantinople, but we do not want Turks in the Lebanon, for two reasons: first, they mix up religion with government; secondly, they allow Europeans to turn them round their fingers. Thus four other masters are put over us. When Chekib Effendi was here, a petition was prepared in the Mountain, praying to have a Turkish Governor. Chekib Effendi hearing of it, sent for the Bishop, treated him with great violence, and threatened him and all concerned with punishment. Who could explain such a proceeding? Of course the petition was dropped soon enough, and those who had the day before looked to the Turks to protect them from the Franks, now looked to the Franks to deliver them from the Turks.

Colonel Rose had made Chekib Effendi believe that the Maronites were acting at the suggestion of France, and that this was an intrigue of hers to get Emir Beshir restored! Now, the Turkish Government has changed, and what money is not spent in the Mountain for that purpose!"

The Maronites are not a whit less children than the Turks, and are quite as ready to believe any story, provided it be false. I will pay you 100 piastres for every one you can trace, as paid by the Turkish Government for any purpose whatever.

"We are brought by you Franks into such a state, that every man suspects every other. For us the old proverb is no longer true: The master knows best what happens in the house."

That is the master's own fault. If he had been turned by somebody else out of doors, the other would be master; but when he turns himself out of doors, no proverb can apply.

"But surely if they only knew in England, all this might be spared to us. Why will the English persecute us?"

Do you think that I know the state of the Lebanon?

"I do."

Do you think I wish to serve you?

"I do."

Do you think I know my own country?

"I do."

Would I not then be insane to take all this trouble

to get you to act upon your Government, so as to stop the interference of England—for that is the whole matter, there is no other evil or danger—if it were possible to get the English Government to let you alone?

"Tell me how it is that so simple a thing as that is impossible?"

That simple thing involves the fate not of the Lebanon only, but of the Ottoman Empire, of India, of France, of Germany, of all Europe, and of all Asia. It is a thing as plain as the sun in the heavens at noonday, or as invisible as the sun at midnight. England is nothing more than the man who happens to be Foreign Minister; nobody else knows anything, or cares for anything. There is nothing done in the Lebanon to the smallest point that he does not know and has not commissioned. If I were to go and tell in London what is doing, there is no man who would not laugh in my face, and call me a fool and a madman. The very ambassador in Constantinople does not know what is doing. It is in consequence of a discovery of this kind that Colonel Rose is at present absent.

"But you have not always the same Foreign Minister; you have changes of parties, they cannot all be alike."

They are all alike. Russia is cleverer than England; some she gains one way, some she gains another; some she uses because she buys them; some, because she knows their secrets; some, because they

have this principle, some, because they have the contrary principle; and some even because they hate her; these last are amongst the best servants and the best masks she has got. But this you may take as certain, as a truth which will never be belied, and which every incident will confirm and establish, that Russia is the enemy against whom you have to struggle; and that the English minister, whoever he may be, is acting as her instrument, whether it be to coerce or to cajole. Though you may be assured that I speak the things I know, I will shew that others know it also. Here are the words of the most distinguished servant of Austria, M. Prokesch, not spoken openly as I speak, but written secretly to his son, and by an accident only made public.

"The Porte resists, but there is no one to back her. France follows England, and England is in understanding with Russia."

"But why dont you tell them this in England?"

That is impossible. This could not be true if they could be told. You forget that they consider themselves a free people; to tell them this is to offend each man, he will not listen to it. You listen only because you feel the direct blow. For this reason, and not less for another, that you are not yet inflicted with political opinions: the only chance for the saving of Europe herself lies in the East. Protection for this sect or that, by one European Power from another, that is the limit of your present ideas. What you have to reach to is, to unite, to liberate yourselves

from all the European Powers; but for this you will be equal only when you understand that you have got to rescue Europe herself, by destroying her illusions. It is the purpose makes the man. With such a purpose as this, the humblest amongst you will be a king.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SHAAB.

March 30th.—THERE still remain two things to see, without which the picture of the Lebanon is not complete. The one, the remnant of the fallen house of Shaab; the other, a Druze Sheik; who lives in seclusion. My attention was directed to the latter by these words, spoken by the person on whose judgment I found most reason to rely: "He is the only man in the Lebanon with a head and a hand." The visit to Hadeth, where the Shaab resides, and to Sheik Nasif Abou Niket, could easily be accomplished by sleeping two successive nights at Shimlan, the residence of Mr. Scott, who has the largest silk establishment in the country. The local authorities were also anxious that I should pay this visit. Thus were smoothed the difficulties in the way, of my seeing a proscribed person. What was to be done for an interpreter? Neither would trust my ordinary interpreter, he being a native: any interpreter that would be trusted by a Shaab, would be mistrusted by a Druze, and *vice versa*. After several days negotiation, I succeeded in getting one for each: for the Shaab, Izzet Pasha furnished me

with Ibrahim Effendi, who had served me so well on other occasions; for the Druze, another arrangement was made.

During the discussion on this important matter, a rule was laid down for me, which gives the whole history of the Lebanon. It was as follows: "Your Dragoman must be neither Maronite, Greek, nor Druze; he must be a stranger, and of all strangers, the safest is a Mussulman." This is no other than the rule by which the Lebanon has always chosen its master; Dragoman and Master are synonymous. Elsewhere there is mistrust; but here there is no confidence. In nations composed of scores of millions, the individuals engaged in the intrigues of diplomacy are rated by scores of units only; here each individual is engaged in them. A village lies before you on the side of a hill; there is a Maronite, a Greek, and a Druze quarter. Each of these are Foreign Powers, having their foreign affairs, their alliances, their truces, and, at any hour, their wars. These wars may break out in the back court of any one of these cottages, and the whole country and all Europe may be involved in it. These foreign relations include every private difference; they affect every contract for the delivery of cocoons; to enforce a delivery of goods, or the payment of a forfeiture for the non-delivery, entails communications with ambassadors, the expositions of reasons of state, and the intervention of the whole of the machinery, put in requisition for the main-

taining or the upsetting of the public peace of the world. This is no supposition. As I write, documents connected with such a transaction lie before me; and at this present moment, three of the principal, if not the principal, European proprietors, in Syria, are secretly applying to the Porte, to become Rayahs, that they may be protected from the interference and oppression of their Consuls. The result has been the establishment of such habits of inveterate secrecy, that no man ventures so much as to write a private letter to another respecting the ordinary transactions of life. They send a letter by a person, writing in it, "you may trust the bearer," or they send a letter making inquiries after health, and enclosing a scrap in a disguised hand without date or seal, mentioning the business itself.

Being on this subject, I cannot refrain from mentioning a singular incident which has recently occurred. The Pasha desired to communicate with the Bishop of the Maronites, who is in fact their representative. The Pasha speaks nothing but Turkish; the Bishop nothing but Arabic. The whole mass of the administrative functions is carried on simultaneously in these two tongues; and yet not one person could be found whom the Pasha and the Bishop could severally trust. At last the plan was hit upon of employing three interpreters; that is to say, that there were three individuals who could be trusted by both Pasha and Bishop, but not one of these spoke both Arabic and Turkish. One of these

spoke Turkish and French, another spoke French and Greek, the third spoke Greek and Arabic; and it was by passing through those three tongues, and three interpreters, that the communication at length took place. The interpreters were Emin Effendi, myself, and a Maronite priest. The first translated to me in French, as the matter was too abstruse for my Turkish; I translated into Greek for the priest, and he translated into Arabic. The peculiarity of the affair was this, that the mistrust was neither of Druzes or Maronites, nor of the Turkish Government; the object in view was the plainest and simplest thing it is possible to imagine: it was the terms of a petition to be addressed to the Sultan. There were no complaints against the Turkish functionaries; there were no demands on the Turkish Government, either for remission of taxes or concession of rights. The petition consisted of a prayer to the Sultan for the exertion of his legitimate authority. The secrecy was solely in reference to the English consulate. The Maronite Bishop was satisfied, that if known to be moving in such a matter, he would draw down on his head the vengeance of England; the Pasha was equally satisfied that if he was known to consent to such a step, the influence of England at the Porte would obtain his removal and disgrace.

The village of Hadeth stands on the last spur of the Lebanon, advancing into the plain of Beyrout, and about five miles distant from it. The way is

through the pines. We soon reached it, and scrambling up its rocks and stairs, gained the dilapidated Serai. A delicate-looking young man, with flowing yellow locks, received and conducted me to a kiosk, the rafters of which were charred and the walls scorched. The prospect was however unchanged. At our feet lay the plain of Beyrout, a forest of olives on the left, called the Sahara of Shonefat; in front and to the right, as far as the city, it was a succession of gardens divided off by hedges of cactus, and through which were scattered palm-trees and pines. The mulberry leaves were only just breaking forth, and spread over all a slight reticulation of verdure; a few days hence there will be but a carpet of green covering the variegated maze which now invites the eye.

The French talking young man with light hair, is a Shaab! This was not exactly the representative I expected of that blood-thirsty line. I had been prompted to this visit by hearing of an old Shaab Emir, who had presented himself at the door of the Pasha, blind and almost speechless, with a petition which he presented, saying, "Take, read, and do justice; whatever you do, I will not trouble you again." The petition stated, that alone of the Shaabs he had served the Sultan, alone had not abandoned his faith, and was penniless, and persecuted. This was Emir Selman, who had five or six times driven Emir Beshir from the palace of Ibtedeen. The fair-haired young man was his son; he

said that he expected his father back by sunset; I determined, therefore, to wait, and afterwards proceed by moonlight to Shimlan. In the meantime I proposed to visit the other Shaab Emirs. Emir Faris lived in a large Seraï below, and was also absent; Emir Melkem was at the village of Babdall above, and was also absent; there was at home only Emir Beshir, who in 1840 had succeeded *the* Emir Beshir, and had just returned from Constantinople with a pension of £60 per month, obtained for him by the English ambassador. Besides these, there were many more Shaabs: the colony consisted of eighty males. There was great repugnance to my visiting the inferiors, when I had not visited the superiors, and a visit to Emir Beshir was strongly urged. But I told them that I did not come there to see retainers of foreign embassies, or mercenary renegades. The son of Selman, I now found by his embarrassment, was a Christian; and, to make matters better, I had to begin by making them worse: explaining that the Shaab owed the Princedom to their Mussulman character, that Emir Beshir, if he acted conscientiously in becoming a Christian, ought to have resigned his post; that the rest of the family had made religion subservient to their worldly schemes, and had obtained the recompense they deserved. This did not affect him (the son) as it was before his time, and he might be a sincere Christian and an honest man. He now recovered his complacency, and spoke of his father's unbending cha-

racter and his strict "Mahommedanism," which made him the object of persecution to the rest of the family. It was a strange sight to see Christians and Mussulmans in the same family, as I did afterwards that night—the father spreading his carpet for his namaz, when the son went to vespers. I had, however, once before seen the same thing in the Jura, a district adjoining Georgia; but there the order was reversed, the fathers were Christians and the sons Mussulmans. The motive, no more than here was religious. It was, however, less ignoble. To sever themselves from Russia they renounced her church, just, as I imagine, so many Maronites adopted the impiety which the Druzes call a religion, to sever themselves from the Greek empire, which had betrayed them to the Mussulmans.

While waiting for the Emir, I went up to the village of Babdall, and on turning the angle of a house, came upon half a dozen girls and women, flouncing down the rocks, towering with their Tantours, the height of which pronounced them to be of highest caste. The ponderous and clanking ornaments swept the ground; their white veils blowing out like flags, exposed blooming and laughing faces, and heads which were heaped cornucopias of gems and flowers; necks like the idols of Indian temples, yellow with sparkling gold, and robes of a brown-red, spangled all over with stars, and fringed with lace of the same metal. I was riveted to the spot with the sudden apparition; they recalled their

truant veils, and after a burst of merriment, they bounded past, not caring altogether to shroud either their charms or their finery, and turning again and again, to enjoy or invite my admiration.

What a wonderful custom this appendage, fixed on the head on the wedding day, remaining there till death, in sleep, in sickness, in labour of the household, toil in the field, there it sits, knotted and secured, as a bowsprit to the bow of a ship. No superstition belongs to it, no tradition pretends to explain it, no religion consecrates it. It has lived through all faiths and changes, ascends beyond all historic things, and is still enthroned on the matron's brow, despite the anathema of priest and the cajolery of fashion. The wearers had been excommunicated by the Patriarch; but where the Tantour is wanting, and a reason is asked, the answer is, not "Patrik," "Mottran," or "Houri,"* but "Chebly l'Ariane," or "Omer Pasha;" proving the horn to have fallen not under ecclesiastical bolts, but bandit or military grasp, in these evil and later days. It was not easy to imagine for what earthly reason the clergy should have taken offence, till the Bishop of Beyrout enlightened me: gravely telling me that the Tantour was the idol which the Druzes worshipped! The Christians, he said, had only recently fallen into this Antichristian practice. I have been also told that the Tantour was invented to support the veil! As well say that the dome of

* Patriarch, bishop, or priest.

St. Paul's was built to support the ball, or rather that of St. Sophia to bear the crescent. The Tantour after the veil! It was before the petticoat. A small bronze figure, pre-eminently archaic, found in the neighbourhood of Saïda, and at present in my possession, represents a woman naked, except a slight covering round the middle, and wearing the Tantour. It was found in one of the primordial sarcophagi cut from or in the rock, which have so often filled me with awe as I have come unexpectedly upon them.

This distinction between married and single belongs to the earliest societies. Morocco and the Lebanon seem alone to have preserved it;* and these are the only countries where the original people remain. In Morocco, the unmarried men go bare and bald-headed, the married ones wear now the turban, but formerly, the pointed cowl and aspiring shashea.

In the beginning of the world, marriage was of course the great event, the peopling of the earth the first business: it was to be set about in an orderly manner, and as dress was employed in all societies to indicate the difference of sex, so would it be equally employed to distinguish the single from the married state.† The story of savage life, preceding

* The Highlanders also retain the distinction between the snoud and the smuch.

† In Hebrew, the word for married is *cullah*, which means "crowned;" in Greek also, the word crown and marriage is synonymous.

the polished and the orderly one, is very well for philosophers and political economists. It was only in the reconstruction of such a decomposition as that of Greece, that a legislator could arise to prohibit "vague intercourse." Here an undeviating people's costume confirms the suggestion of right reason, always most distinct in simple times, always at last discovered at the root, or in the fountain, when one has dug deep or ascended high enough to find it.

However, leaving the esoteric part of the question, it is a wondrous appendage to look upon. It is stuck forward, or a little on one side, the veil resting on it, and on the shoulders, and falling in front, so that it is exactly like a snout: the short ones are about the length of the snout of a well-grown pig. When I saw the short ones, I understood the poetic sense of the "exaltation of the horn." Women with them may be compared to a herd of swine on their hind legs: the lofty Tantour suggest sideas of grandeur; the pig passes to the stag or unicorn. My first sight of it was as worn by a group of women gathering olives, stooping down, or on all fours, poking the strange proboscis about, and seemingly rooting in the earth, or barking the stumps of the trees. A stranger sight, or a sight of stranger animals, is not to be had within "the four seas." Equally strange the words I am writing will appear fifty years hence, when the Tantour will be but a tradition, and when critics will have discovered that it never had existence.

We proceeded on our way and soon reached Babdall, down into which we looked, scattered amid orchards and rocks; in the middle was a small church, and towards it, assembled by a tinkling bell, the people were slowly directing their steps from every side; we obeyed the movement, and entered by the door of the men, on each side of which a row of pipes stood against the wall. Way was made for me to the rail in front of the altar, and before it lay open on a low stool, a large vellum Bible in Syriac, round which boys and men were assembled chaunting. The priests within the rail, leaning on long staves or sceptres, with a cross branch at the top, which they placed under their armholes, and on which they leant both elbows, chaunted the alternate verses, the priests from memory, the people reading from the book. The priests wore the high blue turban, and their long black and blue drapery; this group, in postures so unlike ecclesiastical, their flowing beards, the deep antique chaunt in that mother tongue, even of the Hebrew, was all that can be imagined of pristine, patriarchal, and biblical; while the congregation could only be compared to a masquerade. In Spain, two ceremonials, or as they call it "functions," preserve for the two sexes their ancient habits. At mass, the women invariably appear in the *saya-manta*; at the bull ring, the men in the *majo*. On these occasions, Europe and tawdriness are shut out, and the graceful and picturesque resume their sway. Here there is for both sexes

but one festal scene, the church; and this was the eve of its chief festival; so nothing was to be seen that savoured of Europe, no not even the hideous black shoe which is sapping the foundations of all costume. Shoes indeed, in a church, were an intrusion for which they have to thank us, but those they wore this day were with the peaked oriental toe, or the square-built antique *mdaïs*. There was not a single individual unpresentable at a fancy ball, whether as to freshness of dress or cleanliness of person. The veils of the women were white; generally the wide booming *potour* (trowsers) of the men were so also. I never saw a people so attired; there was no approach to anything like indigence.

As we left the church, I observed low arches with sealed entrances, forming the platform on which it stood: these were vaults belonging to the different families. The stone is removed when a new inmate is to be added, and is then replaced, and the wall plastered up. This plan has been supposed to be of recent invention in Spain or Sicily; the sight of these suggested an older date.

It is singular to hear the Christians using ecclesiastically the Mussulman titles, such as the *Reis* of the convent for abbot; or the Jewish, as *Rabbi* for teacher; or the Pagan, as *Houri* for priest. This is doubtless the same word as that from which the Greeks took their "Hero," and may be connected with the earlier race (Horim), whose rude sepulchral monuments, shewing a wonderful care for the

sanctity and repose of the dead, may well suggest their having given their name, like the Magi and Chaldeans, to those who taught mysteries and performed sacrifices and rites.

By the time we left the church, Emir Melkem had returned to his Serai, which overlooked the little valley. We ascended to his Fantasia, where a group of gaily-attired but demurely-visaged attendants were assembled, who on our approach rose and advanced, leaving an open alley for our passage. I sat down on the parapet, and invited them to be seated; a few only accepted the invitation. Presently we saw the Emir proceeding from one of the doors opening on the esplanade to another; he was going to the Selamlik. I was then summoned; the Emir advanced to meet me some steps before the door: he had recourse to the subterfuge of a cushion in the *middle of the divan* to solve the point of etiquette. This was the first time I had observed this expedient in the Lebanon. The whole man, place, and people corresponded. He was fat, heavy, and old; his son fat, heavy, and young. There was great show of earnestness; but it had no connection either with the kindness of hospitality or the gratification of their own curiosity. To have the credit of a visit from a stranger, and make him speak well of them, was all that was in their minds.

I referred to the pleasant spectacle of the people in church; they said, it was only their fine clothes pulled out of their boxes; and so was met

every attempt at conversation. They then introduced the very last of topics to be expected in such a house—Mahomet, by asking me what was thought of him in Europe. Ibrahim Effendi warned me in translating that they expected me to abuse him, for their only pleasure was to revile the Mussulmans. It was curious to have the question put by renegade Mussulmans, through a renegade Christian. I answered, that in Europe "we never had venerated Mahomet as a prophet, but that our most enlightened men rated him very high as a legislator; and that there was no people of Europe who would not accept his political system as the greatest of boons, if they could but get it." Disappointed, but not baffled, they began to do what they wanted me to do, till one of themselves stopped the conversation by reproving them sharply, speaking also in high terms of the Mussulman laws. He was no renegade, but the Priest, Judge (El Houri) of the Christians of the Druze Caïmacanship. I have mentioned at Jouni the praise bestowed on these laws, now for the first time introduced by Houri Arsenius, Judge of the Christian Caïmacanship. They (the renegades) returned to the charge by abusing all European religions, saying that we shifted from one to another as it suited us; but that they (the renegades) had adopted a religion for religion's sake. I observed that conversion in Europe turned on reasoning and very rarely on ostensible profit; upon which this conversation suddenly dropped.

This incident brought out more clearly than I had ever before observed, the total dissseverance in this country of conversion from conviction. When Ibrahim Effendi was first proposed to me as Dragoman for the Shaab, I thought it preposterous. I did not see that the sympathy of renegade superseded the antipathy of race and religion. The Shaab would have shrunk from speaking before either Turk or Arab, but it mattered not what the faith of the interpreter was or had been, so that he was a renegade. This is very simple; they do not speculate, and they are not engaged in polemical discussions, so that if a man changes his religion there is no disguise about it: each man who has done so has broken loose from all ties, and the only human beings with whom he has a fellow feeling are those who have done the like. This is the very contrary of what we see in Europe; the Roman Catholic who has become a Protestant, or the Protestant become a Roman Catholic, are the two last men to have a fellow feeling for each other.

After a faint exhibition of hospitality, by inviting us to stay the night, I took my leave, by no means enchanted with this section of the Shaab.

Emir Melkem is in the enjoyment of the following revenue:—

Silk, 6 cantars of 200 okes, equal to	. . .	£1200
Oil, 50 do.	do.	. . .	400
Corn, &c. 4,500 roubs	„	. . .	
Rent, houses, shops, &c.	„	. . .	400

Say that it ranges from £2,000 to £2,500; this will be equal at least to £10,000 per annum in England, and this is his share after the peasants have deducted, according to the terms of agreement, one-half, one-third, or one-fourth: the first is, when they furnish all the labour, and pay half the taxes.

We now hastened to Emir Faris, but he was still at vespers in a small church adjoining his Seraï. As we passed it, they were vigorously engaged in Syriac; the overplus of the men sitting out opposite the southern door, and that of the women before the western porch. A large Fantasia with a low parapet extends in front; at the projecting angle there is a small building, once a kiosk, to enjoy the view at ease. Here we sat down to wait; and in the time we had to spare, Ibrahim Effendi recounted the plot of a farce, preparing by himself and the son of my host at Jouni, for opening of the new theatre. They made it turn on the pretensions of Emirs. I submitted that such game was ignoble, and pointed out the Frank with his awkwardness and his insolence, as the figure to transfix. He was delighted with the idea, and the plot altered accordingly.

We were summoned during our discourse more than once, and great was my confusion when I saw the Emir standing before the door, with a numerous suite, where he had been kept waiting ten minutes or more. As I drew near, the blind old tongueless man advanced alone a few paces, and feeling for me, drew me near to him, and gave me

an embrace on both shoulders; then, despite all my endeavours to reverse the order, taking my left hand in his right, and mingling the European taking of the arm with the Eastern supporting of the elbow, conducted me to his Selamlik, humble indeed in adornment, but spacious; and where the demeanor and service at least were princely.

As the sun was drawing to the horizon, after the usual flowing passages, I requested to leave, but he insisted so on my spending the night, that I gave in for "a quarter of an hour."

"Tell me," he began, "what England *means*—do you want to ruin us?" On requesting more explicitness, he continued: "We had one malady—we got rid of it. You have brought it back." Having assented, he repeated his question. Pleading shortness of time, I asked for his substitute. "Give us anything," he exclaimed, "give us Turk, Jew, Christian; give us bandits from the highway: do not make us cry out, one to another; 'who dares touch me, I am French; who dares touch me, I am English?' Is this the way you restore a country to its sovereign? is it for this you told the people to rise against my enemy, Emir Beshir?" I asked if his family could govern the country.

"Govern the country! A child may govern it, without the Sheiks: with the Sheiks, the devil only will govern it. The Porte, even if it expels them, will not recall the Shaabs; it has had enough of them; it will place Pashas and farmers of revenue,

as in the rest of Syria." I told him that the Porte's object was to get rid of the farmers everywhere, and that the only difficulty in the way of having a Turk, was the Turkish Government itself. I then asked why the people should not collect their own taxes? He stretched out his hand, groping for me, and finding my shoulder, patted it several times, and said, "*You have found it.*" Again, he returned to the motives of England.

I said that there was a mistake between the "rights of the Lebanon," and the "rights of the Sheiks;" our representative having the first on his tongue, and the latter in his mind. "If any class," he answered, "were possessed of rights, surely it was the family of the Shaab. They are now the only class excluded from all right; they have lost the Emirship; they cannot be Mucatajis; they are ineligible to the Megilis; and not being of the people, they are with them subject to the oppressions of all."

Ibrahim Effendi was quite astonished, and said to me—"Here is the Governor for the Lebanon." Much of the same thing was passing in my mind, save that the objection of his being a Christian was there, which the Mussulman did not feel. He, attributing my dissent to his blindness, said "Where will you find a man with eyes who sees so far?" I bethought myself of the Byzantine episode of old blind Isaac Comnenus, replaced by the Crusaders on the throne, notwithstanding the misfortune which,

according to the Greeks, wholly excluded him; and asked him, if he too, wanted to have a kick at the dead lion—referring to his projected farce. Emir Faris is not unlike a lion; he wears a white moustache and no beard, no turban: he was in a suit of light blue, much of the cut and fashion of that worn by the naval Greeks; indeed, he reminded me of Miaulis, though cast in a smaller mould.

The "quarter of an hour," was now thoroughly expended, so I again asked leave. He said, "Surely you will not go without visiting the Harem?" I could not resist such an invitation, the first of the kind I had received. Taking my hand, he conducted me into the interior of the Seraï. His daughter, and, I think, two daughters-in-law, received us. The first was of dimensions verging on the colossal, with ruddy cheeks, though with a soft transparent skin. I should guess her age at nineteen or twenty: streaks of deeply dyed henna marked her fingers; her head, from which she removed her veil, that I might examine it, was covered with a profusion of jewels, and rich, gold filigree side-pieces were fixed above each temple; thence hung small chains, which lengthened till they reached the shoulder; jewels hung at the end of each, which was thus a small drapery of gold chain on each side of the face. Her braided tresses were covered behind with a shower of the small pellets of gold, which they call *sefa;* round her neck were rows of gold figures strung like necklaces, which

covered it all over; her dress was the same red brown stuff I had observed in the morning, starred over with gold: she was thus a mass of gold, jewels, and purple. On admiring her dress, she naïvely said, "It is because you love my father and me, that you like what I wear." But she had nothing of the Eastern about her, save her dress, her manner, and her wavy eyes. The other ladies were small, pale, and fine-featured, but without her beauty; they were dressed much in the same fashion, and another "quarter of an hour," or rather two, slipped away, whilst I was examining all these pretty things, listening to their unembarrassed chat, and inhaling successively the "breath" of each, for so is termed the nargillé, (*nefes*); nor did I get away until I promised to return and spend a whole day with them, if I could possibly do so, before the departure of the steamer.

The neck ornaments have their places de rigeur, just as if they were parts of the costume. Close round the throat is the *Kirdane*, a succession of slugs in gold, applied to a band of velvet, and from each of which depended a piece of filigree holding a small gem, and having a small coin hanging to it. Below this is the necklace, called *Snowarie*, from its resemblance to the fruit of the pine, having also at the extremity of each grain a small gold coin: these radiate on the breast where the bust swells. Below this is the *Ichèri*, a simple chain of gold, to which are appended five ornaments: two *Asphur*, figures

of doves; two *Semach*, or small circular cases, such as the Jews use to inclose phylacteries; and in the centre a triangular case for an amulet, called *Hirsh*. Those who have observed on the Etruscan tombs the necklaces with the *five* ornaments, will be struck with this living usage. The five ornaments are also found in the necklaces of Assyria. There is a fourth necklace, composed of coins strung together with slight chains, and having six coins, hung so as to form a cross:* it is called *Fiskuc el Asherie*. This must not be taken for the cross adopted by the Christians in the third century: the cross is one of the five ornaments in the bas-reliefs of Assyria. The bracelet is *Sleité*; the single gem on the forehead *Helil Elmas*. I have forgotten the name of the chain ornament on the temples.

The Emir reconducted me to the esplanade, and then excused himself for having detained me, saying that he had not expected the visit, but so soon as word was brought him that I was come, he left everything and returned home; for perchance, he said, "I should hear something useful for my country."

It was now dark; but I could not forego the visit to Emir Selman. Not less different from Emir Melkem was Emir Faris, than Emir Selman from the latter. He was a tall, hard-featured, broken old man, with a grizly beard, and dimly glancing

* When first adopted it had the exact form of the extraordinary Buddistic Shwastica.

through the one round cyclopic eye which, having lost, he had regained; a heavy turban on his head, and long robes falling about him; all neglected in his person and sombre in his air. One not knowing his story, might have taken this daring and persevering pretender,—who had so often driven his rival from power, and never relinquished, until mutilated, his purpose of re-possessing it,—for an anchorite.

Like Emir Faris, he has regained a limited use of his tongue, and one eye has escaped the effect of the hot iron, though the lids were seared and joined. It was difficult to warm him into speech; his animation, however, came when I touched on the part played by Sheik Beshir, between him and Emir Abbas. Tannous Shediah, their most reputed modern historian, was present, and added to the interest of the conversation. Three hours elapsed before my horses were brought to the door. Emir Selman at one time got up and went to his carpet spread in the corner, for the Nemaz, and chanted it in the Syriac recitative, instead of the *sotto voce* of the Mussulmans. Perhaps he had acquired the habit, when, being Prince conjointly with Emir Abbas, who was Christian, Abdallah Pasha sent a mufti to Dair el Cammar, to see that the forms of the Mussulman religion were duly observed. He mentioned to me the application he had made to the Government for a pension, and the grounds on which he had claimed it, requesting me to speak in his behalf, which I

readily undertook to do. At last, delighted with my visit, I got away as the moon rose.

So this is all that remains of the Shaab! Their story, during that night's ride, rose before me in a new illustration of their race. Alone of the Arabs, this family preserved a lengthened domination. Trace everywhere else Arab conquests; the marvel of the suddenness of the expansion, is always succeeded by that of the rapidity of the decay. The same story is told from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Indus; they conquered, they introduced a religion, and a form of government; the system remained, the race disappeared—the Eastern and Western Caliphats themselves, being speedily occupied by Berbers and Turkomans. The solitary exception is this intermingled line of Maan and Shaab; with an uninterrupted genealogy of fifteen centuries, and between the two an unbroken succession of power for ten. Yet they had no cognate population; they ruled over no people of homogeneous faith; they had no army at their disposal; they had none of the vulgar elements of power: they were simply hired by the people of the Lebanon to rule over them. Thence their permanency; until the whole was finally crushed by that miscreant renegade, Emir Beshir; having been first shattered and broken by that other miscreant, Fakreddeen; the only names known or respected in Europe, Of Emir Beshir, Lamartine writes:—"This able warrior and prince has melted down into one people, Druzes,

Maronites, Syrians, and Arabs, who live under his domination."

This, however, may be taken as a specimen of Europe only in her poetic mode. Let us put beside it an instance of her diplomatic aptitude for observation.

"The Maronite nation, although by far the most numerous in those mountains, has not always been the most powerful, nor indeed so warlike as the Druzes, who *form a Mahommedan sect.* This explains that sort of necessity which has been felt in these mountains, to be ruled by a foreign family, as that of the Châabs (the Emir Beshir), whose princes, up to this moment, *born Christians, live as Mussulmans,* and *die as Druzes,* to be in harmony with the different nations over which they rule."*

So much for one Consul-general. Perhaps the next one will know more about it, especially as he is the great English authority in the Lebanon, Colonel Rose. He ignores the very existence of the Shaab family, and puts in its place a "royal" family of another race and line. His words are—

"Sheik Naaman (elder brother of Saïd Jumbellat), the rich and powerful representative of the royal family of the Sheiks Beshir."†

Imagine a Druze consul at Liverpool, in a report on the historical incidents of the English

* Report of Colonel Campbell, Consul-general in 1836. Bowring's Report on Syria, Appendix D.

† Colonel Rose, June 22nd, 1841.

race, speaking of England's "royal family, the Misters John." Lord Brougham's profound observations before the Privy Council on the respectability of the extensive family of "Dost" in India, is nothing to this. Well might Mr. Blacque exclaim—"Christians! ye are incorrigible."

We had before us two and a half hours, along the side of the mountain, and an ascent of two thousand feet; but its flank was furrowed by deep ravines, through which poured the mountain and winter torrents; and the moon, when she rose, was intercepted by the steeps on our left, or dazzled our eyes so that her light comparatively availed us little. I was pressed for time and by hunger, and exulted in an unexpected sense of health and strength; so, acting on the principle that nothing could bring down a horse in this country, we went on through roads which were more like beds of torrents, crossed by little walls, down steeps, up hills, through copses, over rocks, at a break-neck pace; and, justifying by the most audacious experiment, the maxim on which we started, reached Shimlan almost within the hour; though we had been detained some minutes in backing my horse off a projecting cornice of a road, which the recent rains had swept away. I can describe little of this Tam-o'-Shanter ride: the lights in the houses glowed around; the sounds shewed them to be at immense distances. One gully we turned, seemed cut into the bowels of the earth, and a wild scene of rocks and water arrested me for a

moment at a tank, called the Fountain of Grapes. While dinner or supper was getting ready, I was asked to go and see the preparations making in the church, for to-morrow, or rather this day. The figure of Christ is enclosed in a simulated grotto, and then it is produced and the word passed round Χριστος ανέστει. But I broke down from sheer fatigue, and tumbled into bed hoping for a hearty if a short repose.

CHAPTER XV.

A DRUZE.

March 31st.—I WAS up by times, but suffering, notwithstanding that the sea and breeze and plains and sun all invited to joy, and inspired health and strength. Being anxious to accomplish the task I had set myself, I hastened my departure, expecting to pay my visit to Sheik Nasif in the course of the day, and be back here, if even by moonlight, to sleep. We reached the bridge and khan, Jessir el Cadi, in the waddy next to that of Deir el Cammar, in about two hours and a half. On crossing the crest, the view up the waddy was magnificent; a recent fall or slip (Zachlé) was pointed out, by which one village had been overwhelmed, and another bodily transferred to its place, without disturbance of a tree or saucepan. At the khan by the bridge, I had to rest for a time, for the work of last night and this morning was beginning to tell on back and legs. I sent a servant on to announce my visit, and so set forward again in an hour. The heat was oppressive, though it was yet early, and a sea breeze was blowing up the gully: the bottom was a chain of precipices almost meeting from either side. Above, the flanks of the mountain presented all the various

features of the Lebanon, patches of the red sandstone with its snowbars darkening the already dark ground, so that the landscape under a clear sky seemed mackled with the shadow of passing clouds. Around were wild fields of rock, and sedate ranges of terraces, sometimes bearing the olive, sometimes the mulberry. At first one is surprised at the extent of culture; my now more practised eye ranged over space immense which lay neglected. The extent to which the mulberry might be spread may be inferred from this; the district of Shimlan produces 500 okes of cocoons; Mr. Scott, the proprietor of the factory, estimates that it might produce 15,000! One spot on our way was something bewitching; the stones for the terraces being round, the walls were gently sloped back; you saw them rising one above the other, covered with a matting of wild flowers; while the mulberries on each successive terrace had the young leaves just bursting, along the boughs which mingled through each other like verdant nets spread before the perpendicular beds of flowers, till the bespangled banks could no more be made out under the successive veils. The walls were matted with camomile, which breathed its aroma; not the dull heavy scent of the plant in our climes, but light and volatile. Richly scattered through these, were anemonies, and sweet lemon, with its henna-tinged cup, which makes the Arabs call it "bride's fingers," red hellebore, purple narcissus. At the base of the walls when protected from the

devastating plough, or the horse hoof, along the path ran a border of less humble plants; the tall flowering stalk of the squill lily, the white cistus, roses with treasures of soft perfume, and the Arum flower, with its large cup lined, and its spike covered with dark purple velvet, verging to black, and looking at a distance like rows of pigeons with the glossy plumage of the humming bird. But no song of birds was there. Silence was broken only by the fall of water from terrace to terrace, and the croak of the frog.

Further on all was changed. The olive's peaceful plenty, succeeded to the mulberry's silken reign. The truncated oak bore the coils of the vine, which sprouted from tree to tree with its snake or cable-like trunks; the little tuft of green was bursting from each radiating point of the Zenzelac, while its coronet or rosary of beads, the last year's fruits, still hung in clusters from their intersections. The Turks call this tree Tesbi Agachi, from the resemblance of its bunches of berries to the chaplet or rosary: it is the tree here of favour and of fancy; it is of no service but for its beauty, and every watercourse and road-side is planted with it. The tree itself is striking from the form of its boughs, and the blood-red streaks on its bark. Add the "everlasting" sycamore with its gnarled roots, like huge excrescences on the rocks; the locust with its glossy and waxen leaves of the richest and darkest green; the fig, here in dimensions vying with the trees of

the forest; and the silver poplar. Such are the contents of a forest band of Lebanon.

Then came a gorge of desolation; rock on rock tumbled down, broken, fractured, poured; from the steep side widening as it advances, it sweeps on to the gulf below, a torrent of stones falling into a stream of water. The sense of motion is conveyed by the projecting angles and impending masses of the one, as by the rounded folds and glossy smoothness of the other. The road was through this petræan flood; the blocks lay around with solid rectangular form and sharp angles, as if they had been brought and cast there ready squared for some Cyclopic yet human structure, only that several larger than the rest destroyed the illusion: the chief of these was a mass 20 feet by 15 and 10; yet had it been three times as long, it would have still been 10 feet shorter than a single stone as hewn by the primeval mason of Gebel Souria.

The Abou Niket is one of the six houses of Druze Sheiks, rooted out by Emir Beshir. He invited them to Ibtedeen under a show of reconciliation, received them with smiles, then left the apartment; and they were taken out one by one and despatched by Sheik Beshir Jumbellat and the Abdul Malek. Two boys alone escaped; one of these is Sheik Nasif, the other, his brother, is now in exile at the instance of France, on account of the death or murder of a Catholic priest. Sheik Nasif was brought up in the house of the murderer of his

family, and spent his youth in the service of Emir Beshir. But when the English in 1840 restored anarchy, the two brothers resumed their ancient state, and played a prominent part in the consequent civil wars. Sheik Nasif was installed at Deir el Cammar, and there, as at the sack of Hasbaya, distinguished himself by the slaughter of Maronites and Greeks. For courage and conduct he stands pre-eminent among the Shieks. In competition with him there are but three: Sheik Saïd, Sheik Hattar Amad, who is but a bandit, and Sheik Hassem Talhouk, who is but an intriguer.

When making my arrangements for this visit, I proposed to send to ascertain whether he was at home, and was answered, "You are sure to find him, for he never goes anywhere." He is not a Mucataji; his property is considerable; he has a strong party, not by the ordinary connections of a Sheik, but as the Mirabeau of the Druzes. The Christians see in him only a bloodthirsty Druze; the Druzes see in him only the enemy of the Jumbellat and the Caimacan.

The Sheiks had disappeared so far back as 1825; the Abou Niket, the Amad, the Jumbellat, &c., had been expelled, either from their Mucatas or from the Lebanon. The Abdulmalek and the Rosslan remained, but merely as servants of the Emir, and without a vestige of the authority which they had previously exercised. Fifteen years had thus elapsed since the old system had disappeared; the young

had never known it, the old had commenced to forget it.

While it had existed no foreigners had troubled themselves with the Lebanon, so that it was spoken of as an evil time of barbarism and brutality, that had disappeared as uncongenial to the "spirit of the age." When the Rosslan, the Bellamy, the Cazen, the Amad, the Abou Niket, the Abdulmalek, the Talhouk, suddenly re-seized their lost power, and revealed unchanged their long-disguised character, it was impossible that among the foreign agents there should not be some who should feel indignation and disgust at such a method of restoring a country to its sovereign, and of protecting a people from its oppressors. The measures taken against Mehemet Ali and Emir Beshir were in reality attacks upon France; her agent therefore was not, like the others, the slave of the lamp. He therefore uttered the proposition, "*Remove the Sheiks.*" To argue against it was impossible; so the English Consul adopted it with this modification, "*Remove Sheik Nasif.*" The agent of Russia on this occasion issued from his cloud to smile an assent. Everybody, except the people, was against the Turkish Government. The Sheiks were against it; the Maronite clergy were against it; the Caimacans were against it. France was the protector of the Maronites, Russia of the Greeks, England of the Druzes; separately, therefore, and collectively the Powers were against the Government whose autho-

rity they usurped, and whose people they debauched. Sheik Nasif was also the enemy of all;—of the Maronites and the Greeks, in whose blood he had imbrued his hands; of the Druze Sheiks and Caimacans, whose hands were stained with the blood of his father, uncles and cousins. He was pursued by England on account of Sheik Saïd, by Russia on account of the Greeks, by France on account of the Maronites. His position was therefore identical with that of the Turkish Government. He was, moreover, the only one among the Sheiks on whom, from capacity, it could rely: how admirable the idea of turning upon him the ostracism devised against the class. The Porte yielded, of course, and dispatched orders for his arrest; but Sheik Nasif was off to the Hauran. He was enabled to return by Kiamil Pasha, who, enlightened as to the truth, wrote to the Porte, "I give my hand to Sheik Nasif; do with me what you like." The Pasha was removed, but the Sheik was let alone; still he stands as a criminal against whom the course of justice is suspended. He has since made his peace with the French consulate, submitting a proposal, which was in substance as follows:—"I don't want to be sent away alone; you wish all to be sent away. Make me your man till then." The compact was concluded on these conditions.

When the British consulate put forward the hostility of the Sheiks as an argument against the Messaa, Sheik Nasif opened communication with

the Pasha, and offered to carry it into effect, and with thirty men to deliver over every Sheik in the Lebanon, bound hand and foot, and then to give himself up with the rest.

Though not actually molested, his distrust is so great that he never appears where the direct authority of a Pasha extends, and had refused to come to Beyrout, even though offered a safe-conduct.

I was well received by his son, a handsome, but feminine youth of twenty, with long auburn locks, and a preposterous blue silk tassel to his tarbouch, which flowed over his shoulders. The Sheik was absent, superintending masons, but had been sent for on the arrival of my servant: I was glad of his absence, to try and get a little rest. At length he returned, accompanied by several Sheiks. He is very like Mehemet Ali. He immediately plunged into the mulberry and its culture, the silkworm and its "education." He has been the first to attempt the improvement of the silkworm, and is actually trying the seed of Piedmont, which would almost double the production of the country. When I pointed out improvements in other points, he seized upon them with avidity. We went out and examined the trees, and I explained the manner adopted in Piedmont for pruning and stripping them. He begged me to send him from France, a work on the subject; he seemed wholly absorbed in these pursuits, and conscious of the benefit that might thence accrue. His own possessions are con-

siderable. His family has 700 okes of silk, equal to £700.

The amount of silk exported, (200,000 okes), at its present rate of price, (100 piastres per oke), would give a yearly value of £200,000. By adopting the processes of spinning and of culture from Piedmont, the value of the silk would be doubled, and the quantity increased by one third at least. The amount of land under cultivation might also be more than doubled on the rocky parts alone.

The hour had now arrived which I had fixed for my departure, as already signified to him, and to all the household, so I concluded that he had no intention to hold with me other converse than of cocoons, and was preparing to take leave, when he whispered to my Dragoman—"We will talk when they sleep." The supper hour came, and the premonitory signals had gratified hunger, exhaustion, and impatience, when my interpreter came to inform me privately, that the supper prepared had incensed the Sheik, and he had ordered a new one, for which they were now killing the sheep!

To roast a sheep whole takes longer than a cutlet, or even a joint, especially with a sweet pudding for stuffing inside. It was now nearly 8 P. M. There was no chance of getting a mouthful before 12 P. M. —if then. Nor was this all; the guests before whom we were to talk mulberries, would not move till the sheep made its appearance; so there had we to sit those four mortal hours, at once bursting with what

we had to say, and famished for what we could not get. When it did make its appearance, a new peril menaced us. Instead of the pile of pilaff, sustaining the sheep, it came forth in various little Frank plates; the Sheik's indignation burst its bounds. I afterwards learned, that after our conference had ended, at four in the morning, he had roused up his whole household, and, to teach them to ape Frank manners again, administered the bastinado all round, with a cudgel, with which he had been ominously playing all the evening. I observed here a new fashion; the stuffing of the sheep was made into *Coras*, as in Barbary, and chucked into the mouth with the thumb.*

These four hours were, however, anything but a blank. Since I have been in this country, I have been hearing men a great deal, and talking to men a great deal, but I have had nothing to observe or to watch; the only face I have had to look at has been that of the heavens. Nature has produced two wonderful, and two similar things, the face of the heavens, and the face of man; they are like each

* Jawan the Kurdee stretched forth his hand to the dish, and it resembled the foot of a raven; and he ladled the rice with it, and took it forth resembling the foot of a camel. Then he compressed the handful into the form of a ball, so that it was like a great orange; he threw it rapidly into his mouth, and it descended into his throat, making a noise like thunder; and the bottom of the dish appeared in the place from which it was taken. So a man by his side said to him—"Praise be to God, who hath not made me to be a dish of meat before thee!"—Story of Alee Sher and Zumumed.—*Arabian Nights.*

other, and like nothing else beside. Water pours down from them, sound issues forth; they darken and they lighten: in themselves and of themselves they change, making for us who observe, pleasure and pain, suggesting to us thoughts, and prompting us to inquiry and speculation. The face of the heavens is always speaking to us; rarely the face of man. In this place now, it did so for the first time.

If Sheik Nasif had by design combined a process by which to rivet my attention, and at once to raise and satisfy my curiosity, he would have done just what he did do. He revealed to me that the impending conversation was the most ardent of his wishes, and that it should not be attained to by submitting to an impropriety. He did it with an air that said—"I know you would have done the like in the like case." He had now told me everything in regard to himself, and the ensuing conversation became of value in reference to what I had to tell him.

During these four hours I ran over the different races, testing and rating them by the men they had produced; men I mean, not of thought only, nor of action only, but those who can adjust a plan, and then carry it out, on that double field, which must be equally trodden to secure lasting results, persuasion and management. Amongst the Turks I had found no such men; amongst the Arabs none; amongst the English none; nor the French, nor Germans, nor Italians, nor the Spaniards. I

could call up but three men to place beside him; I speak of course, not of careers achieved, for that belongs to accident and circumstances, but of faculties observed and possessed. These three men belonged to races rated very low in the scale; Greeks, Servians, and Berbers. These were, Coletti amongst the first, Petronievich amongst the second, and the Caïd of Riff amongst the third. With the man I saw before me, what were the Druzes, or rather what had been the Moarni, the Mirdites, or the Itureans? What they were their history shews; and if I had only known them in this Sheik Nasif, I might have supposed their history. Endurance involves substance; the substance of a people must be contained in the men you see, just as that of a stuff in the morsel you handle.

At length the guests retired, and we were left to ourselves. His evasions and replies were alike characteristic and original, his similes were picturesque; it will be evident that I cannot reproduce the conversation on a few pages of paper. The fragments I can give are only such specimens as half a dozen bricks would be of a house, its furniture and inhabitants. I shall throw them for convenience sake into the form of dialogue, not as intending to convey thereby more than the impression.

"I am a man who goes nowhere, sees no one, is busy with his own affairs, and has nothing to do with public business: what can you want with me?"

I have heard that you do nothing without reason,

and therefore am I come, not to know what you do, but what you are.

"If I spoke well of what is, you would doubt me; if I spoke ill you would doubt me. In the one case you would say that I flattered those who are far off, in the other that I hated those who are near."

I cannot tell you what I shall think till I hear what you say. If you will not speak, I shall know that you distrust me, and then you will have acted without reason.

"I do not distrust you, but I know that what I say to you will go to the Turkish Government."

Should I hear from you nothing useful, for you or for it, no word that you say shall go to the Turkish Government.

"Ask, and I shall answer."

Is the Gebel Souria well governed?

"What the Sultan does is well done. I am the Sultan's slave; what shall I say?"

You said "I shall answer." Where now is your word?

"There was a master who liked Patlegans (vegetable marrow) and every day the cook repeated, The Patlegan is a good dish. The master was taken ill one day after eating, and abused them; after that the cook every day repeated, The Patlegan is a bad dish. The master at last asked what he meant? The cook answered, I am not the slave of the Patlegan, I am your slave. So whatever dish the Sultan does not order away, is to me a good one. The

Sultan does not order it away even after the indigestion?"

Let us drop this.

"Let us drop it. What have you to ask me? You see all. To one country two masters are given, and these are not masters; you need not ask how it is governed."

Would you have them replaced by a Shaab?

"No!"

What then?

"Is there not a Pasha at Beyrout? Is there not a Sultan at Constantinople?"

But the Sheiks, would they submit?

"The Sheiks!" (here he burst into a long laugh, and then relapsed into silence.)

Well, what of the Sheiks?

"Every body knows what the Sheiks are: yet there is something that people do not know. They are *fools*. You may think that I am speaking in passion, but I will prove by figures what I mean. The Sheiks have the first interest in not being concerned in the government of the country, for they have all property, and that property is worth nothing to them so long as they govern the country; for everything is insecure, and they have to expend on their retainers what they gain by their extortions, and live besides, every day in fear. I have got 2 cantars of silk, 120 of oil, 1200 roubs of grain, and houses and shops, which return a rent of 10,000 piastres. My brother has got nearly as much. On this I pay no tax, be-

cause I am a Sheik. The difference between the other Sheiks and me is, that they like this, and I don't. I want my land to pay the same as is paid by the Fellahin; and then it will be of more value to me than now, and of value to my son and my son's son. I have now told all; others will say the Sheiks are knaves, I say they are fools."

Have you not convinced any of them?

"They are not men to be convinced; who can convince pride? who can convince fear? they are busy in their intrigues, they have their quarrels, they dread the people, they are little minded, and they are worked upon."

How worked upon?

"You understand me (after a pause). What have I done that all the Consuls should single me out, and chase me like a wolf? What I have done wrong, the other Sheiks have done no less. But as I have not cheated a brother of his succession, or poisoned a cousin, or taken arms against my legitimate Sovereign, I am not worthy of the favour of England."

You think, then, that the country might be tranquil, if the Sheiks were merely displaced from their offices of Mucataji?

"Certainly, if at the same time the people can rely on the Government; but it understands nothing of this country."

Is not the Messaa a step towards this?

"They have set about it wrong; the men chosen

are the creatures of the Sheiks. False returns will everywhere be made, and disappointment and failure will follow."

What ought to be done?

"The Government should send to the people, not to the Sheiks, and make them send their own delegates to Beyrout. The people then will understand that they are not sold to the Sheiks, and that the Turkish Government really protects them."

But the Turkish Government fears to say a word in that sense, lest the people should rise and murder the Sheiks.

"Did I not say that the Turkish Government knows nothing of this country?"

You think, then, that the mere invitation to the communities would suffice to bring them to act for their own protection, and with effect in the adjustment of the Messaa?

"I do."

The Sheiks were cleared away by Emir Beshir; how have they returned?

"That is a question which your Government has to answer."

There are, then, two oppressions of the people, the Sheiks and the Caimacans.

"These are the evils of the country."

How do the Caimacans stand as regards the Sheiks?

"The Sheiks were at first well enough pleased with the Caimacans, because it was agreed that the

Caimacan was to be nobody. But the Caimacan now wishes to be somebody, and the Sheiks are not at all pleased."

I have heard of that, and should like to know more. The Caimacan was to resign half his appointments to the Sheiks, and now refuses to do so?

"You are not correctly informed. Emir Achmet, the brother of Emir Emin, was put over the other Sheiks, but why put him over us? He was not superior, he had amongst us superiors; so he proposed to divide amongst us, as brothers, his pay. We were six, and each family should have one-sixth; so we consented to his being Caimacan. A treaty was drawn up and signed, and placed in my hands, and he continued to pay the money till his death. Then Chekib Effendi appointed his brother Emir Emin, and we made no objections, as we considered the compact to be between family and family, as is always practised amongst us. But Emir Emin said, 'My brother is dead; this contract does not regard me; the Turkish Government, not the Sheiks, appointed me.' So since that time there has been discord between the Sheiks and the Caimacan, as there is between the Sheiks and the people. We did not like to speak of this contract, but we withheld the taxes; and for four years no settlement of taxes has consequently taken place. When the Turkish Government, six months ago, demanded the arrears, we made known the contract; and the Emir Emin now threatens us, if we demand our rights, to

bring upon us the Turkish troops, as at Jezzin; for it will recognize no such contract."

So the Patlegan turns out to be equally unpalatable to the Sheiks and to the people?

"You have said it. You have asked questions and I have given answers. Now I shall ask questions and you shall give answers. Whence came this Patlegan? Who sowed it first and cooked it afterwards?"

I answered, narrating who formed the scheme of disorganising a Turkish province, and by whose intervention it was worked out. How the Porte was badgered and beset, and could not call its life its own; all because it had not courage to speak the one word, that would have set it free. Always going on in the strange delusion, that by submitting to interference to-day, it will have a quiet life to-morrow.

"Well, if the Turkish Government will not say that word, now that you know the truth, when you go to England will you speak for us?"

In England nobody cares or knows anything about foreign countries.

"What do you say? Did you not send your fleets, and expel Ibrahim Pasha, and pull down Emir Beshir? Have you not brought back the Sheiks and set up the Caimacans? Have you not persecuted even me?"

The English nation knows nothing of these things.

"What! England does certain things, and then does not know those things. You speak what is not reasonable."

I describe what is not so.

This conversation, which to me was only confirmatory, was to him the opening of a new field, in the discovery that the Caimacan system had not originated with the Turkish Government. His manner of expressing his loyalty to that Government, and of drawing the distinction between its authority and that of its apparent representative, was curious. "If," said he, "the Turkish Government were to send a single man to take me here, I would fly; but if the Caimacan came with a thousand, I should wait him at the door with this!" clapping his hand on his sabre. "Before I saw you, I would have asked questions about you. I don't ask them now."

Still ask them.

"I would not have asked if you were an agent of the English Government, but I would have asked if you were an agent of the Turkish Government, or the French."

Why don't you ask them now?

"Because I now understand that you are your own agent."

I am as you are, thinking for myself, and when I have judged, acting according to that judgment for the benefit of others. Can we work together?

"That you can tell, not I; for I see only what is

around me. You see what is near, and what is far. Is there any hope?"

You had a great assembly. You drew up a petition, that petition never reached the Sultan—the English Government prevented it. (On his exclamation of surprise and disbelief, I entered into particulars.) The English Government dreaded the effect of that petition on the Sultan; that petition was not what it ought to be to produce effect. Here then is my plan. A complete exposition of the state of things; in which shall be brought out, the injury to the Porte and to you from the tariff; the injury to the Porte and to you from the division of the Caimacanships; the suppression of the authority of the Porte, and the oppression of the people by the system of Chekib Effendi; the dishonour of the Porte and the corruption of the people by the foreign protectorates. Then you will call on the Sultan to resume his sovereignty, and to protect his people; you will claim for the Lebanon its ancient rights of electing its Prince, and of administering every affair by free and open councils. But you must not make this a matter of the Lebanon alone: the tariff affects the rest of Syria, equally with you. You must deal with the public property, offering upon that two-tenths to the Government; you must deal with the ordinary revenue, offering its free collection. This Arzouhal (petition) must not be embarrassed and jeoparded by calling a Council, as you

proposed a little ago, at Beyrout, nor must you stake all on a single paper, which an English consul can stop. Every single city and township must send its own. The Pasha is favourable; every functionary, with one exception—Osman Bey, and he has nothing to do in the matter—is with you.

"But," exclaimed Nasif Bey, interrupting, "the Maronites, the Maronites! will they be with us?"

The Maronites are before you, and their only dread was that you (the Druzes) would be against them.

"Then all is clear. Don't say more. You make me tremble lest it should not come out as you say. Now what you have to do is to get me a Vizerial letter (implying pardon), and that will be to me a sign."

This I engaged to do, and upon this the business part of the conversation closed.

I now proposed to seek the rest I so much needed; but he again detained me with expressions of amazement and incredulity as to England and her motives. I offered him the following analogy:—

Let us suppose the Turkish Government to be engaged in schemes with some other Governments for driving the English out of Asia. Its ambassador at Calcutta, and its consuls throughout the country, will be exciting the Hindoos against the Mussulmans, and the Mussulmans against the Hindoos, filling their respective dupes with illusions of inde-

pendence, and doing everything which shall render insurrection certain and government impossible. Would you here in the Lebanon know what was going on there? Your men would be drafted into the Turkish armies; your money would be given to support the Turkish Government; but your will and your views would be as nothing in the machinations of Constantinople, in the operations at Delhi, in the convulsions of Oude, or in the massacres of Benares. Supposing that you were even curious to know what was going on, you would then have papers published at Beyrout, like the *Portafoglio Maltese*, and would, therefore, be filled with contempt and disgust for those wretched people in India, that your virtuous and generous Government was doing so much to serve.

This he accepted with a limit, placing it thus: "We might be so deceived, but that is because we are not wise. But you, who are wise and learned, cannot be so deceived. Your travellers come and see the Lebanon; they like it; they want to get it." On this I again brought the point back to one of wisdom or folly, shewing that even if we wished to get the Lebanon, it was not the way to do it, and that what we were doing here, whilst not preparing to get anything for ourselves, was preparing to lose India on the one hand, and on the other to give Constantinople to Russia; as we were undermining the Turkish Government and exciting France back again to Indian schemes; referring to the

Egyptian expedition, with the object of which he was perfectly acquainted.

"You have now to explain to me," he said, "how it is that we look upon you as being a wise and a free people." My answer was as follows:—

Commercial firms often become bankrupt. This happens because those with whom they deal, and who ought to be acquainted with their affairs are not so. They continue trusting in the wealth which the firm did possess, and which it has lost. It trades upon its former credit, others trade with it on their present illusions, and so the whole breaks down. England was a political firm, with which you could have safely traded fifty years ago, but it is no longer so. Traffic with her was safe so long as she conducted her own affairs in a business-like manner. A man of business decides beforehand upon what he is going to do, and only then leaves the work to his clerks and agents. If he suffers the clerks to undertake operations of which he knows nothing, he cannot fail to be speedily bankrupt. This is what England does.

"Why did you change from the one plan to the other?"

A firm struggles to become rich, and is attentive to its business. Becoming rich, and the affairs extensive, the partners become negligent. By degrees the clerks put themselves in the place of the partners; and the partners, no longer attending to business, take to reading the newspapers. No man

in England, except one managing clerk, is engaged in any business that England is carrying on; but every man is engaged in reading what is day by day printed as news. You know that there is a Patlegan. No Englishman knows it. He cannot see, touch, handle; every event with him is in the clouds.

"But you have a great Megilis."

The Megilis is what the people are. This is the way. The English Reis Effendi writes to Consul Wood, or Rose: "Divide the Mountain." On this the Consul Wood or Rose or Moore sets to work. Nobody knows anything about it but that Reis Effendi and that Consul, and sometimes perhaps, a little, the Ambassador. You get up one morning and cut each other's throats; then people at Beyrout or elsewhere sit down and write letters. The one says, Sheik Nasif is a monster; and the other says, Sheik Nasif is a very fine man. One says, the Maronites are a very virtuous and oppressed people of Christians; another says, they are served right, for they are only Roman Catholics. One says, the Druzes have done it all; they are savages: another, the Turks have done it all; they are ferocious, perfidious and fanatic. Then the people in London begin to write, who dwell in rooms on the housetop. They say, these people are very ill off; we must protect them; or, we must punish them; or, we must convert them. Then they all cry out, We must put down the Turkish Government. The

persons who write this are paid for it; and after it has been written and paid for, it is printed; and after it is printed, it is sold. Then all the nation buys it, and after it has bought it, it reads it while it is eating its breakfast. Then each man goes out and meets his friends and talks it. This is the way the people of England occupy themselves about their affairs; and they call it by a name which being translated means "UNIVERSAL GUESS." They smile then at each other, and say, "We are great men, we know all that is doing in the world, we govern the world; like unto us were none such since Noah came out of the Ark;" and they are quite right. Now you know more about England than if you had lived in it all your life.

"Still there are your line-of-battle ships; these are your ambassadors. You are strong."

The house that is bankrupt at 12 o'clock, is wealthy in the morning. Ships and guns, wealth and regiments, legs and arms, go to constitute strength, but do not alone make it. You must have besides, either the brain to do wrong profitably, or the heart to abstain from doing it at all. Without these, ships and guns are as a knife to a child, or a hatchet to a maniac; first, it will destroy the life of others, and then it will take its own.

"Then there may be worse places than the Lebanon."

Certainly, both in prospects for the future, and possession for the present. There is no man amongst

you who, knowing both, would change his station here for the relative one amongst us.

He now left me to get some rest; but, however exhausted, despite the Spanish proverb, I still feared the fleas, and with some bedding well beaten, laid down on the roof, I soon fell asleep. But presently I became dreamily aware of the presence of that magic-like dawn, to which I had been for nearly three months a stranger. Through my half-opened lids, with my half-awakened sense, between the coverlids and the terraced roof, I beheld the "Bird of Abaye" (the opposite hill), go through its cameleon changes; not as if the tinted light fell upon it, but as if varying colours were circulating within, until the sun rudely disturbing their gentle gambols, I drew my cloak over my head and sought, not in vain, another hour of rest for my aching bones.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANTIQUITY OF THE SOURIANS.

April 1st.—THE Sheik promised to send me by a short cut, and kept his word. I reached Beyrout, descending to the coast by the Damour, in little more than four hours. It was the worst road I ever traversed: there remained fragments of a stair cut in the rock, six feet wide; the steps low, and about three feet deep. It can be but rarely that animals ascend and descend it, yet the steps were worked into holes by their hoofs. How my horses reached the bottom I do not know, as I had preceded them, and is only to be explained on the principle that Syrian horses are infallible.

After reaching the bed of the Damour, we kept crossing and recrossing it, as if determined not to leave one fordable part untried, though indeed we attempted more than one that was not so. So soon as we got our legs out of the water, we had to duck and dip to save our heads from the boughs of the mulberries, (here of larger growth, and truncated in their branches, not their stems; looking like a forest of antlers) and lemons, which in orchards or gardens, cover its banks, and where, in pathless luxuriance, we had to wander in a labyrinth of sweet-

smelling and blossoming trees. Whilst scrambling over the rocks to the Damour, a conversation was being carried on across the valley between two persons, who could not have met under two hours' hard walking. They have a manner of coiling up their voice, sailor-fashion, before casting it. They hold on to the note they have sped, until it is caught on the other side. Thus they begin—Eh! Tanou-ou-ou-ou-s-s-s-s (Tanous), and so word by word. In this way the war-cry is sent from village to village, and rock to rock, over the whole country in a few hours, and brings them with a celerity truly miraculous to those not in the secret. At Shimlan a murder was committed, and in half an hour fifty horsemen were on the spot from villages four, five, and six hours distant. Volney mentions an instance of 15,000 men being assembled, equipped for service at Deir el Cammar in the morning, by a cry issued over night.

After emerging on the shore, we turned to the right, and soon came to Mallaca, a village on a height celebrated for its silk. It may be the metropolis of Malaga of Spain: the name of the river, (Damour) recalls the Amorites (Ti-Amori in Berber). Below it was pointed out to me a large tract of land recently bought by Emir Emin, for £1000. Further on, the rocky point of the mountain invades the low strip of level beach, and runs out to the coast. The face of it is covered all over with sarcophagi. This is the richest and most extensive

group of them I had seen; they are scattered for about a couple of miles along the beach, and you see them far up on the hill side. The keeper of the Dukhan or coffee-shop, told me that they are found extending a long way inwards, and offered to conduct me to figures cut in the stone, like those at Nahar el Kelb.

The sarcophagi are indiscriminately cut into the rock, or hewn out of it. The rock is bevelled round and nicely fitted to prevent the water from getting in, and cleared away so that it may not lodge. I had observed that in the double graves, as if of married couples, the form of the lid varies; the same distinction is observed by the Turks. There are no other vestiges. All that seems to have engaged the attention of those who made them was the receptacle for the dead.

The Mussulman graves elsewhere are placed with the same regularity as their places of prayer, but here the rule is dispensed with, and the direction of their monuments is determined only by accident: the ancient usage has been too strong to yield to the new faith. The ancient sarcophagi, whether carved out of the rock, or chiselled in it which constitute the ancient records of the Lebanon; the regular stone coffin, and the hollowed case in the rock, with a lid similar to that on the sarcophagus, are found together: and these, the latter of which could not be moved, are placed in every direction. The sight of these rudiments of the sarcophagus,

suggested a possibility of connexion with the Pyramids.

The discovery of Lepsius is based on a hollow, cut for the body in the rock, and then covered with stones, the entrance being carried under ground, so that the secrecy of the passage and the mass of the edifice, might defy alike curiosity and violence. This connexion had already suggested itself, when at Sweir, I was struck by the sight of a tomb composed of cubes, placed exactly according to Lepsius' theory of the original structure of the Pyramids. The form was indeed not exactly a cube, it being rather extended in the direction of the length of the body; but I have since found in Volney, that in his time the perfect cube was used. It is in the last half century that the sponge has been passed over usages, so that getting back fifty years is equal in regard to customs, to striding over five or ten hundred. Here then we have both the grave cut in the rock, and the pyramidal arrangement of cubes placed over the body, which conjointly compose the scheme of the Pyramids: a mystery now solved, after baffling the learned for twenty-five centuries. The primitive idea evidently belongs to this country. The modification which it underwent in Egypt, and to which the grandeur of these monuments is owing, arose from the fear of desecration, an idea not pertaining to the primitive period; and which could scarcely have been known before conquest had embittered race against race, and a long course of abuse and

tyranny had been run. The existing usages of a people supposed to be of yesterday, give the origin of the earliest and noblest of the monuments of that great empire which had run its race before Rome began! Such a coincidence might of itself suggest a Syrian derivation for the arts of the valley of the Nile, a conclusion already arrived at from the monuments themselves, by those who have most laboriously studied them.

The pyramidal form of some ancient sepulchres, such as that of Absalom and Zechariah, has been pointed out as an instance of the influence of Egypt on the Jews. But the ordinary architecture of Egypt, such as the Jews must there have been accustomed to, had nothing in common with the Pyramids. These tombs have no door; they are built all up, and that of Absalom is entered by a hole made in the wall. The Druze family tombs are without door, the wall having to be pulled down to admit each new tenant.

I have already mentioned at Saïda the tombs corresponding exactly with those of Lycia. So that we have in this district the original of the two most remarkable forms of sepulture in the world, belonging to two of the most ancient systems, and which in the countries to which they were transferred, have ceased to be practised for two or three thousand years. As the form of sepulture must be one of the earliest adopted by any people, the antiquity of this custom must go far to prove, that the Lebanon is still inhabited by its original people.

The Druzes, like the Moors, bury in their houses those who die in odour of sanctity: the tomb is made in the form of an altar, and stands east and west; the feet to the east, so that the body lies on the right side, and looks to the south. This, as Mecca is south from here, would at first appear connected with Mussulman superstitions, but it is not so; the Mussulmans place the body on the back, in order that it may sit up when it renders the spirit to the angel of death. The Kebla was the point of prayer before Islam; the Druzes might have adopted the habit of the old Sabeans, who still existed in Syria in the tenth century. If so, the turning the face to the Kebla would have come directly from the idolators, with whom Islamism was at war, while tending to confirm the notion, for which I cannot find anywhere a shadow of ground, that the Druzes were originally Mussulmans. At Abaye I am told that there still exist similar tombs of the Tenhouk, that is of the princely house that preceded the Maan, and who are said to have been Mussulmans.

These Druze tombs are called Naos, the form of which is Syriac. Is this from the Greek, or is the Greek from this? Virgil (himself an Etruscan), describing the Palace of the Phœnician Dido, places there the tomb of her priestly husband, and calls it a temple (Naos):—

"Templum erat in tecto, miro quo colebat honore."

She also hears the voice of Sichæus. No poetic image this, but simply a tradition. At this day the

widow pours forth her sorrows, and listens for the answering voice through the aperture in their tombs left for communication with the dead.

The Phœnicians are considered the inventors of letters, but they drew from an earlier source. Their active colonies were not established on the coast of a barbarous land, and uncultured savages did not dwell above and around them. Connected with this point is a still unsolved problem of Biblical ethnography. The genealogy of Genesis, which existing critics agree in regarding as the series of tribes, not the succession of families, place the Canaanites, among whom the Phœnicians proper are included, among the descendants of Ham, whilst the Hebrews came from Shem, "the father of all the children of Heber." The second born of Shem is Asshur: we have no further notice of that line. Thus Heber and Asshur are a distinct line from Canaanites and Phœnicians.

The remarkable war, of which we have the account in Genesis, and the earliest so recorded, is between two confederations of kings. Chedorlaomer king of Elam, Tidal king of Nations, Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of *Ellasar*, fight on the one side against the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboïm. These latter had served Chedorlaomer for twelve years, and rebelled in the thirteenth. "In the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims

in Ham, and the Emims in the plain of Kiriathaim, and the Horites in the Mount Seir." Then the confederated kings proceed to smite the Amalekites and Amorites. It is not until after these successes that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah come on the field and join battle with the kings whom they had formerly served. It is impossible, then, to doubt that the tribes who had been smitten were of cognate race to Sodom and Gomorrah. For what could have induced them to choose such a moment for attack, but desperation, in seeing the discomfiture of their allies, and the desire to avenge them? Many other passages of the Old Testament also lead to the conclusion that these Anakims, or children of Anak, Zuzims, Avims, and Rephaims, were cognate to the Canaanites,* although their genealogy is not given. They probably were descendants of Mizraim, as well as the Philistines; Mizraim was the second son of Ham, Canaan the fourth, from whom came the other tribes found in possession by the children of Israel; Jebusites, Hivites, Amorites, &c., among whom Sidon is specially mentioned as "the first-born." They are distingushed from the Canaanites by the epithets "great" and "tall," that are always connected with their names, but

* The various names given to this early people shew the high respect borne to them by their conquerors, and the antiquity then attributed to their race. Rephaim, "great," or "giants." Emim, "formidable." Anak, "king," among the Greeks. Cadmoni and Horim both implying "ancient" and "hero."

they live amongst them. The Rephaims are specially mentioned when the promise was made to Abrahim that his seed "should inherit the land." The spies of Moses report how they "saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which came of the giants, and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." Og king of Bashan was of "the remnant of the giants."* Joshua is said to have cut off the Anakims from Hebron, and all the mountains, and to have destroyed their cities, so that none remained, "except in Gath, Gaza, and Ashdod," that is, in the land of the Philistines, which makes the probability of their descent in common with Philistines, from Mizraim son of Ham, amount to a certainty. They might have been collectively called Mizraimites, as the others are called Canaanites; being spoken of only as "a remnant" in the time of Joshua, they probably preceded the Canaanites in possession of the land: the Zuzims are said (Deut. ii. 20-23) to have been destroyed by the Ammonites (children of Lot), and the Horims by the children of Esau.†

* His enormous basaltic sarcophagus is of record; which points to the epithet "giant" not being figurative only.

† From Ham—*Cush, Canaan, Mizraim, Phut.*

From *Mizraim*—Anamim, Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim) and Caphtorim.

From *Canaan*—"Sidon *his first-born*," Jebusite, Amorite, Hivite, &c. (Gen. x).

Anakims, (Children of Anak)—Joshua destroyed them, except in *Gaza, Gath, Ashdod.* (Josh. xi. 21-22).

Now comes the question, are they the original people? The word Philistine is admitted to be derived from Phleseth, which means "emigrant."* Scripture history confirms the deduction. "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?"† The Phœnicians were also always treated as emigrants, and they were among the children of Canaan. There must have been a still anterior race, the race who gave to the land its name—Syria.

Amongst all the conquests recorded in the books of Moses, never is the Lebanon mentioned. It stands completely apart from the changes in dominion going on in the plain. When the name does occur, it is as a distinct region to "the land of the Canaanites," and the inhabitants are called "the inhabitants of the hill country."‡ The great war of the time of Abraham, is between the children of Shem, and the children of Ham. All those associated with the King of Elam are descendants of Shem; among them appears "Arioch, king of

The *Zamzummins* or Zuzims, destroyed by the Ammonites, (a people like the Anakims, "great, many, and tall.")

The *Horims*, or *Horites*, (Gen. xiv. 6.) destroyed by the children of Esau.

The *Avims*, destroyed by the Caphtorims, (Deut. ii. 20-23). Og, King of Bashan, of the remnant of the giants who dwelt in Ashteroth, (Josh. xii. 4.)

* Bochart, "Geographica Sacra," p. 329.

† Amos ix. 7. ‡ Josh. xiii. 5, 6.

Ellasar." It is in Telassar that dwell the "children of Eden," whom I have already identified with the Eden of this day, at the foot of the cedars. If the name of Souria is still the name of *Lebnan* among its own people, not forgotten in the change of tongue, not superseded in the pertinacity with which the Hebrew epithet has been fastened upon it by all foreigners, it is because they are the Sourians; of which the Old Testament alone affords sufficient evidence, even had the ancient name been lost. Coming now in confirmation of the name, what more remains to be said? They fought the great battle in the vale of Siddim, under Arioch king of Ellasar, together with Elam and Shinar, (the Amorites called the Lebanon *Shenir*), against the descendants of those who had driven out their forefathers, as they were in turn driven out by the Israelites.

Elam was the first of the sons of Shem, Asshur the second; from another son, Arphaxad, came the Hebrews, from Heber: the lines of Elam and Asshur are traced no further, but we have got enough in the names themselves. Elam is Persia, and from Asshur, Asser, Sour, must be derived both Syrians and Assyrians.* That subsequently there were two distinct Syrian and Assyrian kingdoms, the capital of the one being Damascus, and of the other, Nineveh, does not militate against the anterior

* "The Syrians before and the Philistines behind, and they shall devour Israel with open mouth."—Isa. ix. 12.

common origin of both. The Jewish history here again affords evidence in a remarkable passage:—When the Israelites were come into the land of Canaan, and had possessed it and dwelt in it, each was commanded to bring the first of all the fruit of the land in a basket to the priest, to be presented unto the Lord, and in doing so to say, "A *Syrian* ready to perish was my father; and he went down into Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty and populous." (Deut. xxvi. 5). The Syrian language was also the language of Assyria; at least the official and court language. In that language the servants of Hezekiah requested Rabshakeh the Assyrian to speak to them, that the "people on the wall" might not understand him.* In that language spake the Chaldeans to Nebuchadnezzar when he called for the interpretation of his dream.† In that language was written the letter to Artaxerxes to hinder the rebuilding of the Temple, by the nations whom the Assyrian kings had placed in the cities of Samaria.‡

Nothing, then, can be more distinct as regards race than Canaanites, Phœnicians, and Hebrews. Yet their language in the time of St. Augustine and St. Jerome—that is, 22 centuries after Abraham—was so closely allied, that each people could understand the other. This was no assimilation, the result of time. When the Israelites, or more properly the

* Isa. xxxvi. 11. † Dan. ii. 4. ‡ Ezra. iv. 7.

Beni Israel, entered Canaan, they knew its language. Hebrew *spies* penetrated into it; the mission of the Gibeonites required no interpreter. One language appears to prevail throughout the whole of Palestine during the course of Biblical history. No interpreter is heard of. Abraham came a solitary individual; he could not have imported a tongue. But neither did he need an interpreter, when "he stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a burying place." And would not Abraham have spoken the Syrian tongue, coming as he did out of Mesopotamia,* where the remainder of his family had been for some time settled, who also are called Syrians as well as himself? Rebekah is the "daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padam-aram, the sister to Laban the Syrian."†

I imagine, then, that both Anakims, Canaanites, and Hebrews adopted the tongue of Souria, that is, the Syriac. In this case that people must have been their superiors in arts and sciences, if their inferior in arms. If they derived from them their language, they also derived their arts, which arts they subsequently communicated to the Jews.

The Beni Israel appear to have been familiar with letters (as signs of sound, not sense) in the time of Moses, long before we have any trace of them in Egypt, India, or anywhere else. The Chinese never

* Gen. xxiv. 11. † Gen. xxv. 20.

have known them. In Canaan there was a city called the city of the "Scribes" or of the "Archives;" for *Kirjath-Sepher* may be translated both ways. Among the Carthaginians, the title of the highest magistrates was "scribe."* All the habits connected with writing which we now find in the East existed there. The *deviet* or case for reeds, and the holder for ink, was worn in the belt, or as we translate it, "on the loins."† In the time of Job, the seal was appended, of soft clay.‡ As now the Easterns soften with turpentine our sealing wax, and then impress the seal, covering the part over again, so that it utterly defies all the processes, even of our English post-office; and it was an offence to send an unsealed letter.§ Writing was then known when the Jews entered; and being associated with their political hierarchy, must have been of ancient date, and therefore probably derived by the Canaanites from the aboriginal population. Indeed, the tradition existed in ancient times of such a derivation of letters; it is recorded by Diodorus Siculus, but, appearing to be destitute of likelihood, it has passed unnoticed. That writer expressly says, that letters were learnt by the Phœnicians from the *Syrians*.

The square Hebrew character at present in use, is comparatively a modern invention. The character

* *Sophetim*, whence Σοφία of the Greeks, Sapere of the Latins, with all their compounds and derivatives in all western languages.

† Ezekiel ix. 2, 3. ‡ Job xxxviii. 14.

§ Nehemiah vi. 5.

of the coins of the Maccabees is unquestionably the most ancient trace of those of Judea. Eighteen letters have been made out, all nearly corresponding with the Phœnician alphabet, which contains twenty-two. The letters wanting are the simple I, the Z, the T and P (supplied by the D and B.) The square Hebrew has not more than three which correspond with the Maccabean coins. The Samaritan is derived from the Maccabean, and the Maccabean from the Phœnician.

The name then of Gebel Souria is a monument of the highest historic value, exceeding, as the Maronite Archbishop remarked to me, in extent, no less than in antiquity, that of "Gebel Lebnan." It is singular that no traveller has noticed this: from all that has been written in this country, no one would suspect, that to this mountain any name belonged, save its Hebrew one.

The Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic are cognate tongues. The Hebrew cannot be the parent, for there could not have been a Hebrew tongue in the time of Abraham "the Syrian." On comparing them, it will be found, that the Syriac possesses the stamp and character of antiquity. It is the simplest in structure, the poorest in vocables; in it are found the roots, and from it are taken the most simple terms of the Hebrew and the Arabic. The Hebrew stands midway between the rigidity of the Syriac, and the amplitude of the Arabic. If the tongue in which the word Adam has the meaning assigned to

it in the 1st chapter of Genesis,* is not the first speech of man, and the mother of tongues, at least it can be said of no other (save the Turkish, in which Adam is man) that it has equal claims to antiquity; and it is a living language to this day. It was with no ordinary emotion that I heard it first spoken by a Chaldean priest from a district called *Soria*, in the neighbourhood of Diarbekir, and questioned him on the names of animals, that I might know how and why Adam had called them.

If this assemblage of probabilities is allowed to stand, the inference from them is indubitable, that the Sourians of the Lebanon preserved the ancient tongue, whilst those of the plain, undergoing vicissitudes, modified it into the Hebrew. It would thus be natural to look to the first for the invention of letters, which would coincide with the circumstances in other respects, and the tradition recorded by Diodorus.

The absence of letters on the sarcophagi does not militate against this conclusion, on the pyramids of Egypt we find no hieroglyphics.

How very amusing is all this. Here racing through the country, thinking the least in the world about archæology, and sunk over head and ears in political conquest and disputation, I have discovered a

* Aadam in Syriac is "earth." Eve likewise, in Syriac *Huin*, means in that tongue "the mother of the living." The name Noah was given, because "he would comfort them in the toil of their hands." The word in Syriac means "rest."

private antiquity of my own. An antiquity that beats all the other antiquities, which no one had ever dreamt of, but which meets me with its gaunt, misty, but unmistakable face, at every turn. There are at least a dozen different lines of proof. There are the tombs; what can exceed that? And yet the terraces, exceed it; the Tantour exceeds the terraces, and the Tantour is exceeded by the Dirhem and Carat. What would be thought in England if we spoke of an ounce of apple-trees and a pound of land? Would we not immediately claim the numerical division of the rest of Europe as autochthanic among ourselves? The whole metralogy of the ancients is based upon the Drachma or Dirhem; beyond it we cannot ascend, but under no system was it other than a weight, and there is no trace of mensuration among them by aliquot parts. Here we have the dirhem, at once a measure of weight and a measure of space, and employed correlatively, with the aliquot or proportional measurement of the Carat, which we continue to employ, both for absolute and relative weight, the one for precious metals, the other for precious stones. This practice is to ourselves a mystery; there is no solution of it. It furnishes exactly the same species of proof which is afforded by a compound term in one language, when the radical belongs to another.* Every time I return to Beyrout, I bring back for the exasperation of the

* The Lebanon is to this day held to be a unit, being distributed into 24 Karats, which at present are termed *Mucata*.

learned Franks, some new evidence which produces strange contortions of physiognomy; they having quite made up their minds not to admit, and it being utterly impossible for them to deny. Precious set these civilizers; and every Frank is so, who is established here without an honourable calling; that is to say, unless engaged in trade or agriculture.

Two hours through the sands, and between hedges of cactus, brought me to Beyrout, early enough to go to the bath, which closes at sunset. I had not been there for nearly two months, and scarcely recognized the place. A new bathman had taken it, and fitted it up "à la franca." The cushions of the divan had given place to miserable nondescripts; English cotton imitations had taken place of the silk bordered futa: coffee was no longer served in the Flinzan and Zarf. When I rejected the Frank cups brought me, none others could be had, till they sent out to *buy them*. The follies of a man may be amusing, but the folly of a people saddens and disgusts. They have method, however, in their folly; carefully abstaining from imitating anything that might be useful, and selecting for destruction such things only as are excellent.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SYSTEM OF PROTECTION.

April 8th.—I WAS to have sailed by the French steamer of the 5th, but again it has been impossible, and the events in Europe afford me every chance that I could have either desired or hoped. But it is events *here.* Is it not an event when a Russian consul at an out-of-the-way seaport, reverses in a moment the political relations of the European governments, and that, not on the receipt of a courier from his government, but on the arrival of a piece of news?

First let me set down the case as it is; not as it appears to be.

The demand to surrender the Hungarian refugees was not made in the hope that Turkey would yield, or with the intention of coercing her. This is not a statement made after the event. On my arrival in Turkey last year, I used these words: "There is no war in contemplation; the quarrel is made, as that about Persia in 1838." The apparent union of the governments of England and France, had, however, the effect of drawing the nations together. This was counteracted by the outrage upon Greece by means of that English squadron which had just left that of France upon friendly terms, and without

prior communication of the intention to the French Government.* The attack on Greece, on the old pretext of Russia's ascendancy, has the effect of driving her into Russia's dependence, but the object clearly is a quarrel with France, although it does not appear why that quarrel was necessary, or what are the effects that are to flow from it. Enough for me that there is a quarrel with France, and that behind that quarrel there is some danger which has made it necessary.† It will not then be an easy matter at this minute for England to make a quarrel with the Porte about the Lebanon. The more so as some glimmerings of the truth seem to be piercing in England, if one can judge by the batch of newspapers by the steamer;‡ and not less in France

* I have since learned at Constantinople, that Sir S. Canning said, in exculpation of his own conduct, that he had been kept as much in the dark as the French Government.

† It was to constrain the British cabinet to accept the protocol disposing of the Danish crown.

‡ The "Spectator" has the following:—"Uniformity of effect indicates community of cause. The results are,—that the Greek people are driven by distrust of England into a sympathizing allegiance to their king, the puppet of Russia; that the king is effectually estranged from the English friendship, taught to distrust even France, as an ally of England, and left to look for support from Russia alone. Is it a real quarrel, this of Palmerston and Nesselrode? Palmerston's ministration serves Russia as faithfully as Nesselrode's. How desirable it would be to get at the bottom of these mysteries and extract the truth! But against that exploration the present case is to be closed, like others that have gone before—for ever closed: Lord Palmerston 'is preparing papers.'"

also, as would appear from an article in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," from the pen of the son-in-law of the Duc de Broglie, French ambassador in London.*

The English act in Greece takes the Russian cabinet completely by surprise! It declares itself in ignorance of the footing on which it stands with England, and awaits an answer. But M. Basili, at Beyrout, on the first news from Greece, knows exactly what to do, and two months ago repeated verbatim Count Nesselrode's despatch of the 19th February, which we have just received by the steamer. A Russian agent is neither a being of impulse nor a prophet. The closest intimacy reigns between the Russian and English consulates; but so horror-stricken is M. Basili at England's perfidy, that on the hour, he is converted from the most devoted of friends to the fiercest of foes. Not content with private vituperation for the bewildered Mr. Moore, he sought an audience in the lanes and saloons of Beyrout. He cited her act in Greece, as an instance only of her universal policy, and undeviating character; she was everywhere "a traitor

* Désesperant de pouvoir jamais s'entendre avec celui qui s'était fait à Madrid le patron des cabales des exaltés Espagnols; à Rome, à Naples et en Sicile le promoteur des insurrections; en Grêce un agent incessant de troubles, et de desordre; qui avait livré Fribourg et Lucerne à la colerè des Radicaux Suisses—les grands Puissances venoient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. M. le Comte de Collerado et le Général Radowitz pendant leur séjour à Paris mirent en avant l'idée d'une entente à quarte."

to her friends, an oppression to Europe, and a curse to the world." An English resident said to me, "I can compare his language only to that of Napoleon during the continental blockade." Do not these words describe Count Nesselrode's note of the 19th February?

The people of Beyrout were exceedingly surprised; they expected that he would be recalled by his Government so soon as Mr. Moore's report reached head-quarters. I explained at the time that M. Basili could only have acted on instructions, and that they would find a "Note," already written, would be fulminated from St. Petersburg, so soon as the necessary time should elapse for the "News" to appear to reach that capital. I was listened to with stupid wonder or undisguised incredulity. It was one of those, who had so listened, who brought me the newspaper containing the despatch. In giving it, he said, "Well, Europe, I see now, must be made up of dotards or children." By means of this interpretation, given beforehand, the people at Beyrout did not remain intimately convinced, like the rest of the world, of the implacable hatred subsisting between Count Nesselrode and Lord Palmerston.

This vessel brings intelligence of the speedy return of Colonel Rose. The people ask why has that functionary been so long absent? I inquire why is he now sent back? The Turkish authorities console themselves with saying, "If any trouble

arises we can appeal to the eighteen months of good relations that have subsisted with the British consulate while administered by Mr. Moore." Such precisely was the reasoning of M. Guizot, on the return of Lord Palmerston to power; but that did not prevent the Ministry and the Monarchy from being speedily blown up.

A new French Consul-General comes out from Trieste, where he has been engaged in the regular consular business of superintending the expedition of manifests and ships' papers: he is reported to be a man who will not meddle in intrigues. The French consulates are divided into two branches, the political and commercial. They are under distinct sections of the Paris Foreign Office, which look on each other with great jealousy. *Beyrout has been withdrawn from the political, and placed among the commercial consulates.*

The Madrid official journal has a passage which supplies food for reflexion: "Since the departure of the British ambassador Spain is not in a *worse* position politically or morally, and has not suffered in her commercial affairs."

April 11th.—This day I was present at the installation of the Tribunal of Commerce. I have before remarked on the effect of seeing Cadi and Jew, Mussulman and Rayah, Greek and Latin, sitting side by side in the same council. To-day the black coat of the Frank figured along the sides of the room. The Firman and the Regulations were

read; the members were sworn; the President addressed them on the duties of their office. This Tribunal is to consist of 12 members, 3 chosen by the Mussulmans, 3 by the Europeans, 6 by the various denominations of Rayahs; but they have named as supplementary members as many more. The nominations have given general satisfaction, and I have no hesitation in saying that this is an institution which affords the greatest prospect of benefit, without any drawback. Besides the work which it has to perform, a work the most essential, it will steady the action of the Executive, discharge the Megilis from its overwhelming toil, and reduce by a large amount the sources of corruption.

The Firman has at last arrived for the settlement of the public lands. It adopts the proposed modification of the Tanzimat: the occupant is to become proprietor, and the charges are to be progressively reduced, till they reach one-tenth. Thus where the peasant pays two-thirds, he shall the first year pay one-half, the second, one-third, and so on progressively, until the tax descends to the tenth. The concession of the rights of property would have been no boon, without the reduction of taxes. Together they constitute as important a change as has ever been made in the internal condition of a country.

The Firman is, however, but an experimental one. The application is to be made to certain districts only to see how it will work, and there is to be a purchase. It ought to have been universal, imme-

diate and unbought; and unless it is so it will be a failure, not an experiment.

At Aleppo Zarif Pasha has been busy in pursuing malversation, and has gained from the people golden opinions. The nomination of Saïd Pasha (brother-in-law to the Sultan) to Damascus, had created great alarm, from his past reputation at Constantinople; but he has surprised every one, and honestly cheated expectation. His arrival was signalized by proceedings against extortioners. In one case, a commission appointed to inquire having made a mitigated return, the Pasha summoned its chief, called him a traitor, and sent him to prison. Another commission was named, and the sum to be refunded was increased four-fold.

There was this night a long discussion on the privileges of foreign traders and protected subjects; and the necessity of freeing themselves from this oppression. The discussion was carried on, on the assumption of a common interest between the foreign trader and the Consul. It was with exclamations of surprise that they listened to my statement, that the Europeans settled in Turkey would be glad to become Rayahs; nor would they credit me until I produced a letter from the English proprietor of a silk establishment in the north of Syria, requesting me to obtain this boon for him. I had then to detail similar applications from other parts of the Empire, and the steps taken in consequence, which had hitherto failed, through the dread of the Porte

to offend the ambassadors. In this matter the Megilis might render to the Government the most essential service.

Interference respectively of one country in the internal affairs of another, presents a terrible prospect for the human race; for it involves the extinction of each people, and the absorption ultimately of the whole, in some one Government more dexterous than the rest. A Government that has formed a plan to dismember another, commits only a crime when it interferes in its concerns. Interference without such purpose reveals hopeless debasement: it is judicial blindness. Such a Government no more sees the consequences of its acts, than it apprehends the vileness of its character.

Once entered upon this course, it revolves within the circle of the pettiest passions; its policy is placed at the mercy of accidents and underlings. The self-love of the Consular agent works upon that of the Ambassador; transferred to narrative, it surprises the perspicacity of a Minister, and, by anticipating, compromises the decisions of a Cabinet. Language and acts proceeding from hence, call forth an analogous response, and the relations of the two States become an interchange of fraud, deception, intimidation and corruption; hourly reproducing themselves, debasing the character, and perverting the understanding of the men who rule on both sides, and ultimately of the nations who are ruled by them.

The Government, engaging in such a course, must, in process of time, be itself subjected to the same operation. In the scenes I daily witness, the picture of what, at a future time, England will have herself to undergo is presented to me. Reflections such as these, are not new. They have, indeed, prompted those great efforts by which that code for the guidance of mankind which is known as the Law of Nations* has been compiled. They have equally presented themselves to mere politicians, and even in our own day. The Duke de Broglie, speaking of the conduct of England and France in Spain, expresses himself thus:—

"The Government that pursues a policy of influence, exercises the calling of a dupe, and when it reaps a harvest of ingratitude gets precisely what it deserves."

This species of interference has been known hitherto only as diplomatic representations made in regard to principles. Here it is administrative. It bears upon the taxes, the customs, the limitation of districts, the administrative functions, the parish business, the selection and displacement of functionaries, the operations of the courts of law; whatever is included under the word "Government," belongs here to "interference." This operation is exercised

* "It is an evident consequence of the liberty and independence of nations, that all have a right to be governed as they think proper, and that no State has the smallest right to interfere in the Government of another."—*Vattel*, sec. 55, b. 2, c. 4.

without authority, without control, without responsibility. The discussions, in reference thereto, are carried on between the functionaries of a Foreign Government; and as that Foreign Government can enter upon this field only by an act of usurpation, its position is that of an enemy. Every act is directed to subvert and to disturb: the object of each individual is of necessity to supersede the legitimate authority of the native functionary with whom he is in contact.

Thus it is that the administrative interference, which has, in Syria, replaced the diplomatic, is carried on through Consuls.

It could never have been proposed to distribute diplomatic agents over the provinces of an Empire. The Consuls are there for mere commercial purposes; they, by the law of nations, have no representative character. Appointed, admitted, and paid for, as such, while forbidden to travel beyond their functions, these functions they are required to execute. It is in the nature of things, that when a body usurps foreign functions, it neglects its proper business. This is what we see here. The Consuls, whilst by their political meddling they bring upon the land convulsion and anarchy, do not protect trade, and do oppress British subjects.

The circumstances are so unlike anything in Europe, that they are scarcely comprehensible. The European residents have, by the generosity of the Sultans, been treated as guests, and exempted

from taxes. Thereupon the Consuls have certified certain natives to be foreigners, giving them "protections," and so claiming for them immunity from taxes. The taxes being levied according to a sum fixed for each community, the portion of the protected persons, who cease to pay, falls as an additional charge on the rest. The disturbance created by so shameless an abuse, is easily imagined; the animosities between the provincial authorities and the Consuls, and the hatred between the "protected" and unprotected Rayahs. The evil is indeed working out for itself a cure, in the contempt that has overtaken the protected persons, and the indisposition to deal with them commercially. The Megilis, by strong remonstrances and judicious resolutions, might strengthen the hands of the Government, so as to enable it to meet and put down this abuse, by forbidding all protection. This will prepare the way for that measure, without which neither Turkey nor Europe is safe for a day—the reduction of the Consuls in Turkey, to the same footing as that on which they stand in Europe.

An expression of Mr. Disraeli's, in the House of Commons, I have heard quoted at least fifty times during my present trip, and always with exultation, by British merchants. It is this: "The Consuls are a body of men who know no more of the laws of their own country, than of those of the countries to which they are accredited."

Hitherto, appeals from Europeans to be admitted

as Rayahs, have smitten with panic the Turkish officials: they have never ventured either "yes" or "no." An application recently made here, has been differently received. It has been transmitted to the Grand Vizir, with an urgent request that it be granted, and accompanied by a general review, both of the consular pretensions, and the silk trade, from which I transcribe the portion bearing on the first of these subjects.

(*Extract.*) TO THE GRAND VIZIR.

Beyrout, April, 1850.

I herewith transmit from the proprietor of a silk factory a request to be admitted to the protection of the Porte. The reasons for this step cannot but be grave. The fact indicates the consideration which the Empire has gained in the eyes of foreigners. A subject of one of the first commercial nations puts aside his nationality, and prefers the justice exercised by our august Master to the shield of British power. Such a preference cannot be rejected. Mr. —— asked only for permission to address himself to the local authorities, without the intervention of the Consul; but it appeared to me that a Firman would be the means of gaining for him a more permanent independence. In granting it the Porte would not appear to be taking one of her subjects from England, but to be conferring a favour on one of them. The vexations of the Consular system are everywhere sufficiently intolerable, but here they pass all bounds. These rival influences have here opened an arena for their strife in the very bosom of the populations, and extend their influence alike over ordinary incidents and general measures. These functionaries speak and act as masters or as enemies, and have

confiscated the authority of the Province in the hands in which it has been vested by the Sovereign. Nothing could be better fitted to demonstrate the hollowness of the system, and to lower its arrogance, than the request which I transmit.

In a commercial point of view the case is of great importance. Since the English Treaty has closed to the Lebanon its ancient foreign markets, fettered its internal commerce, and totally ruined its local industry, these new factories can alone rescue it from poverty and depopulation. Yet these establishments are threatened with ruin.

I am prepared for the astonishment, perhaps the incredulity, which your Excellency will feel. I have experienced the same myself. Convinced as I now am of the existence of an evil which secretly assails the prosperity of the country, I can do but one thing, and I ought to do it whatever the consequences may be to myself, which is, to present to you in the best way I am able the question as I see and understand it. I think it demands all your attention; in submitting it I claim your indulgence. In pointing out the errors into which the Government has fallen, you will not doubt my sincerity.

I divide the question into two heads; the first is the general state of the Lebanon, which I treat in a separate memoir. I here take up all that concerns the spinning operations, and shall expose to you things which I do not think you will judge proper to lay before the Council. The state of the Lebanon would necessarily demand a formal decision; but for what concerns the spinning you can give effect to the conclusions arrived at, by a word of instruction either here, or to the commission for the regulation of the new tariff.

At the time when the silk of the Lebanon was about to be taxed 12 per cent. foreigners came and erected spinning establishments, which in increasing the value of the silk opened to it new markets which were closed to it during the prosperity of the Lebanon, and thus could compete with the finest produce of France and Lombardy.

Although these factories were at first established in great numbers, they did not continue to increase; many are but little worked, and some are completely abandoned. Those which are the most flourishing are in such a position that one of the proprietors speaks in these terms: "I am reduced to the necessity of deciding whether I shall continue to sink my capital in the hope of better success, and with the prospect that with the greater tax imposed by the new Tariff, the certainty of bankruptcy would follow, or to retire at once with the sacrifice of three parts of my capital."

It is therefore necessary to protect these factories, and through them to save the Lebanon. It is for the Government of the Subline Porte to find the means of doing it, and I do not hesitate to say that it should be done even if it involves a sacrifice. I shall endeavour to shew the position in which they are placed.

The peasants can only furnish the cocoons in small quantities, and with each a separate contract is required. The population is now so impoverished that it can only live by anticipating the harvest, the European must pay them in advance. These payments begin shortly after the harvest, at rates which go on increasing till the coming harvest; that is, from 9 to 14 piastres the oke. In order to have money they are always ready to contract for a larger quantity than they can furnish; the manufacturer should therefore know exactly their resources, and bind

them by strict conditions. Such is the demoralization that the cocoons can only be obtained by constraint. If the cocoons are not furnished at the time and in the quantity specified the spinning is stopped. In other places they contract with the Chiefs of the Villages, but here the Sheiks have straitened the municipal authority, and that indulgence is unknown. The Howalis are sent into the villages by each manufacturer as for the Miri; from thence come expenses to the people and to the manufacturers, and these last have to pay as much as 5 per cent. on debts before he can obtain the intervention of the authorities. In this consists the principal difficulty of a manufactory in this country; it is not in the working of the silk, but it is in the mass of small and irritating matters. The manufacturer's business entirely depends upon the good will of the authorities, which in the present state of the administration of the Lebanon can be refused to him, or can be given in an inefficient manner. Again, as regards judicial differences which may arise from it, he is dependant upon all the casualties which here shackle the course of justice. If he be a foreigner he has the support of his Consul, but it may happen that instead of support he gets only hindrances. These are costs which cannot be put into figures in a current account, nor be estimated in a tariff, but which for certain are sufficient to cause bankruptcy to a factory, whatever may be the profits of its work. Intricacies like these, which it would be impossible to calculate beforehand, and are to be found nowhere but in the Lebanon, are fully disclosed in the following application.

The Caimacan of the Druzes writes to the English Consul in these terms:—"One of your subjects takes upon himself to lend money in the villages to per-

sons who cannot repay it; he then exacts a large fine, and thus oppresses the people and brings distress into the Mountain, giving infinite trouble to me and to you. Desire him, I pray you, for your own peace and mine, to depart." The Consul conveys by letter this communication to the manufacturer, who answers in modest and conclusive terms, shewing the falseness of the assertions and the absurdity of the conclusions. The Consul sends for the manufacturer, combats his views, upholds the Caimacan's letter by all possible arguments; in effect, places himself in his place against his subject, and finally makes the manufacturer retract his letter. The manner in which he succeeded was by taking from the manufacturer all hope of being protected against the Caimacan by any one whatever, making him feel that the English Government having a political object in hand (to secure the affection of the Druzes), "could not sacrifice it to quarrels of private individuals, and that the Turkish Government was not favourable to silk establishments." He gave him a dispatch (from Sir Stratford Canning) to read, in which these considerations were set forward in a manner not to be misunderstood; so that the manufacturer, perceiving at the same time that he had no resource in the Consul against the Caimacan, nor in the English Government against the Consul, was entirely thrown back, and consented to all that the Consul required of him. Notwithstanding this, on going home and reconsidering the matter, he becomes indignant at the conspiracy and the intimidation to which he had been the victim, and he returns the letter he had retracted with a protest. These curious documents are enclosed with this memoir.

The manufacturer on a former occasion had endeavoured

to communicate directly with the Pasha, but the Consul had a clue to this step, and made a scene with the Pasha, which had the effect of throwing him into the hands of the Consul. Then he tried to put himself under some other consulate, but he found none that would receive him. Having at a later time discovered that he had been deceived as to the disposition of the Porte, he came and related to me his position, and begged of me to be his intermediary with a Government which had the greatest interest in his prosperity.

I have given these facts in detail because they lead to reflection. It cannot be doubted that if the Porte has closed its eyes against the industry of the Lebanon, that has not prevented an inimical eye from being fixed on what happens here, and considering all the consequences of its success on the *peace* of the Lebanon.

Let us consider in all this what is the interest of the Druze Caimacan, or to speak more correctly of the Druze Sheiks. The Caimacan, invested with the authority of the Porte, appears to occupy an elevated position and to be possessed of an independent authority; but it is not so, the Emir Emin is but the equal of the other Sheiks. They did not agree to his election till after an agreement, formally enacted though secret, by which he ceded to them the half of his appointments, and not being in a situation to fulfil his engagements they become his creditors. At this moment some "Howalis" are at his house for the payment of a debt of one of these Sheiks to a foreigner (not an Englishman) for cocoons. It is remarkable that he has not written a letter to the French Consul, as he did to the English. Such being the position of the principal Magistrate of the Province, the position of an establishment subject to his caprice and its own necessities may be imagined.

But the Sheiks will have, as may be supposed, an interest in making establishments flourish which bring them money and increase the value of their luxuries; yet the first interest of the Sheiks is to rid themselves of all foreigners. The system of the Mountain at the present time has been summed up in these words by one of the Sheiks himself: "From the top to the bottom the big one eats the little." It is, therefore, above all things necessary for them to have little ones; they dread the prosperity of the peasants because it brings their independence; they fear every occasion which can bring within their reach the authority of the Porte.

Beside this document I will place an extract from a letter I have received from Dr. Thompson of Swedia, who is both a medical practitioner and a proprietor, and who, in his latter capacity, is desirous to escape from his Consul by becoming a Rayah.

"Jan. 23rd, 1850.

"Several years' residence in the East, and my professional privileges having given me facilities for knowing the character, habits, and customs of all sects and classes, I can bear testimony to the invariable regard of the Turks, and Turkish Government, to the rights and property of Europeans resident among them. As regards myself I carry this confidence so far as to desire to forego my rights as a British subject, and stand solely and entirely upon the rights of a Rayah, or subject of the Porte. This would guard me against my legitimate

authority, who from my dear-bought experience and that of all others similarly circumstanced, thwart and embarrass not only the local and general legislation of the Sublime Porte, but sadly cripple the operations and commercial interests of those whom they are avowedly called upon to foster, protect, and encourage. The difficulty in persuading Europeans of the perfect safety of making investments in any pursuit in this country arises from several sources; namely, a total ignorance of the country, its laws, and their mode of administration, an unfavourable impression derived from the writings of casual visitors, and the distorted views given by European officials. There is on the one hand wilful perversion of the truth, and on the other a total ignorance of the *laws* which, when properly understood, have merited the approbation of some of our first legal authorities. It is thus that the European officials in the East embarrass the legislation of the Porte, and damage the private and commercial pursuits of European residents. Many instances might here be adduced, where parties for years past have ceased to claim more than the *privileges* of *Rayahs*, and who, in consequence, have overcome their previous *difficulties*, and by a simple appeal to Turkish law, (without the intervention of consuls), obtain satisfactory and prompt redress. It is thus that residents of twenty-five, and thirty, and forty years, place that reliance on their Turkish rulers, which in no one instance has been disappointed. The erroneous impression also gone abroad regarding the "tottering of the Turkish Empire" tends to prevent many from adopting this as their country and home. Nothing can be more delusive and unfounded than this impression—no person not minutely and for years acquainted with the civil and

military organization of Turkey and its dependencies, could have any conception of her present position in the scale of nations, and of her resources in case of war with Russia; these are facts easily inquired into, and the more closely they are investigated, the more convincing will be the proofs of the utter fallacy of any such supposition.'

•

But where Consuls have not disturbed the administration, and before such proceedings as we see here were dreamt of, they still most injuriously affected commercial transactions. It is not only that in quiet times the personal character of the Turks is such that a stranger is always unmolested, and always safe, but he is equally so at moments of the greatest exasperation. After the battle of Navarino, it was expected that all the Europeans in Turkey would be massacred. So completely possessed of this idea was Sir S. Canning, that before allowing the news to transpire, he summoned the merchants on board a frigate, and sailed off with them. Some of the older residents, however, who knew better, absolutely refused to go. They were landed; not only were they unmolested, but, consul and ambassador being now removed, they obtained at once, through the medium of Mr. Sanel, the senior merchant, the favourable settlement of several matters that had been in litigation fruitlessly for years.

If England wishes Turkey not to be absorbed into Russia, and to remain, as heretofore, the bul-

wark and protection of Europe against the barbarian, she has the easiest of all means for effecting that end, and it is by withdrawing her ambassador from Constantinople. If she wishes her trade to prosper she will withdraw her Consuls as well.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TURKISH FINANCES.

"TO DIMINISH THE DANGERS OF THE FUTURE." Such were the words found by Pozzo di Borgo, in 1828, to define from that period the relations between the Russian and Turkish Empires. Words are not lightly used by grave and business men when mutually exchanging their thoughts. The term "danger" does not apply to the mere frustration of schemes; and used as it was by that diplomatist, in reference to the army newly created by the Turks, it applied to that which lay behind: toleration, surplus revenue, and productiveness. Tolerant in religion, flourishing in finances, exporting corn and oil, the army of the Porte would defy foreign aggression, her subjects retain their loyalty, and her produce, drive that of Russia out of all markets. In all these respects, Syria is the critical point for the two Empires. Its section of the army remains alone incomplete. It is a drain to the treasury, instead of supplying it. It imports corn, instead of exporting it. The toleration which elsewhere has preserved peace, here, by being carried to excess, opens the door to insurrection and dismemberment. Toleration is conected with Turkish rule; here it ceases to exist, because the

Turkish Government shrinks from appointing a Turkish ruler. The completion of the camp for Syria, and the causing of Syria to cease to be a drain on the treasury, depends on the means adopted to increase its productiveness. To this point I propose now to address myself.

In the course of last year importation of grain has ceased, exportation has commenced. This is owing to the confidence restored to the cultivator. A drain of £200,000 of money has been replaced by an influx of £500,000.

The present limit to this increase is in the numbers of pairs of oxen, the difficulty of embarkation, and the obstruction of the tariff. The latter, as shewn by the returns, is capable of being tided over; with grain brought down to the harbours at the rate of 10*s.* or 12*s.* a quarter, this can be understood.

Entered thus on the field of expansion, the relief afforded in every branch of the financial department can be imagined. The resources of Syria suffice to supply the entire demand of Europe for grain; to call them forth requires but the continued confidence of the cultivators by the settlement of the question of the Government lands, and the construction of harbours to an extent equal to such increased trade. The interest of Russia in arresting these measures, is represented by Pozzo de Borgo's term in 1828.

The treasury in Turkey profits to a larger amount by exportation of produce than that of any other

country; and in Turkey, Syria is the province which affords the largest amount of profit to the treasury, in consequence of the amount of the Beylic or Government lands, upon which a double tithe is received. Suppose the present rate of progress to continue for five years: say that it then amounts to £5,000,000 value of raw exports, the direct profit on this branch of revenue alone would be equal to £1,000,000. The whole revenue at present is £300,000, which is more than absorbed in the expenditure.

When I first discovered, and having discovered it, announced, that Turkey was not dead, and was not going to die, and had means of life and endurance which no European country possessed, and so far from being a decrepitude sustained by foreign jealousies or bayonets, was the protecting shield of Europe, I was so enlightened, not only by the individual character of the Turks, but also by the absence of a public debt. When I first learnt this, I was incredulous, and conscious of my inability to judge of such weighty matters, I questioned those who ought to know. It was by the wavering of the eye, and the faltering of the tongue of such persons that I took courage to think for myself. My thoughts were these: a country without a debt is like a man without a debt. He is a free man; it is a free State. The system which keeps a country without a debt, is like the character which keeps a man without a debt. Years afterwards, in a secret

despatch of Count Nesselrode to the Archduke Constantine, written at the close of the war of 1830, I discovered that such precisely had been the process of reasoning of the Russian Government. Count Nesselrode there explained how it was undesirable to push matters further: first, because of the inability of Russia directly to hold in subjection the Christian populations; and secondly, because Turkey would now be at their mercy by reason of a debt having been imposed. Count Nesselrode was, however, mistaken on one point. He did not anticipate that self-imposed sacrifice of the Turks by which, (the Rayah population being excepted), a sum of money was raised sufficient to discharge that debt. Before that debt was paid off, and not foreseeing the possibility of their making such an effort, I had held it to be better that Turkey should have English capitalists for their creditors, and did my best to attain for them a loan. I succeeded, and was charged with the offer of a loan of three millions. On my proposing it to the then F. M. Akif Effendi, his answer was, "If I accepted this proposal I should be a base man and a false Mussulman. It is by an effort that we have to meet our difficulties, and not by a weakness. If I were to accept the offer, I should be deceiving you, and cheating those who make it, for we have no authority to impose a tax upon future generations; the contract entered into would be null and void; my successors would disavow it, and if they did not, they would be, like me,

dishonest men." This conversation shamed me. Since that time I have had the opportunity of making myself acquainted with the details of their financial system, and so to understand how they have been enabled to subsist without debt, and weather the storms from without. Exposition here is out of place; but I will set down some results, which I do from memory, not having documents by me for reference.

The revenue entering the Treasury, at the period of the Russian war, was over £3,000,000, but did not reach to £4,000,000. The new military organization, as then projected, contemplated a new expenditure equal to the whole of the then revenue. At the time of the late Sultan's death, that organization might be said, with the exception of the camp of Arabia, to have been completed: the revenue had risen so as to meet the charge, having reached, in the year 1849, to £8,000,000. There was, however, what, in our speech, would be called an internal debt, which consisted of three branches. Anticipations of revenue in the nature of Exchequer Bonds; outstanding debts of departments in the nature of our former navy bonds and army debentures, and obligations for money advanced. These collectively amounted very nearly to a year's revenue.

Under the present Sultan, the revenue has gone on increasing, not indeed in the same proportion; as about that time came into operation, the English

tariff, striking with prohibitory duties the heavy exports. A parallel increase did not take place in the expenditure, so that a surplus remained, sufficient to the discharge of the internal debt in eight years, had it been so applied. It was reserved; bearing the commencement of a system, the contrary to that in Europe; namely, money in hand, instead of a debt. It is to be deplored, that during this period, the line of demarcation has been effaced between the private treasury of the Sultan and the public one.

In the reform of the system of Pashas it was attempted to make up by enormous salaries for their administrative destitution. The disposition was not, however, wanting to put things in order; the difficulty was to bring these to a head. The results obtained, however satisfactory, are to be considered only as a basis for future operations. There is lavish expenditure, which can be cut down, financial resources which have to be worked, and impediments to exportation which can be removed.

"Give me the administration of Moldavia and Wallachia, and I will beat Russia." These are words I have spoken long ago: I say the same now as to Syria. The same may be said of any one of the provinces, or rather the kingdoms, which compose the Turkish Empire; those at least which contain extensive alluvial lands, and a neighbouring coast. By setting free the resources of any one of these, millions will be poured into the Turkish treasury, and produce poured into the European market,

so as to cause the sources of the Russian exchequer to run dry.

Those who look deeper than the surface will perceive other results. First, Europe will be thus protected from becoming, at a not remote period, tributary to Russia for grain. Secondly, India will be secured against the operations which threaten England's tenure. Our Consul at Beyrout is labouring, amongst other things, for the loss of India, which is to be effected, not by a contest to be hereafter fought upon its soil, but by the consequences of the religious rancour to be raised amongst the Christian subjects of the Porte, against the Mussulmans. This alone can bring the fall of this Empire; and by its fall alone can the supremacy of Russia over Europe and Asia be established. "Russia's gain," said Dr. Arnold in 1840, in reference to the Syrian affair, "seems to me to be a world's loss." Every movement to effect our loss, is a movement made for Russia's "gain."

To effect these changes, no new law is required, and to oppose them no class is armed. Three years would be ample space for carrying them into effect. The result would then present a picture of financial prosperity, such as has never entered into the dreams of European statesmen; viz., a revenue double the expenditure.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD.—BAALBETH.

April 27th, Zachlé.—I DID not think to have taken up the pen again for description, much less of a place worn so threadbare as this; but all I heard and all I saw was so new and strange, that I must suppose that previous travellers have been taken somewhere else by mistake.

Baalbeck is Baalbeth, or the house of Baal, by the Greeks changed to "City of the Sun," Heliopolis. It has now, like so many other places, recovered its ancient name, with the change of a final letter through the Turkoman guttural. The Greek and Roman temples did not attract me to it. I was drawn thither by the Betylia, that mystery of the ancient writers, but which I have shewn to have been the Magnets, used in the Phœnician vessels engaged in distant traffic, and which, on the return of their fleets, were conveyed in religious procession to the temple at Baalbeck, to remain there until the fleets were again sent forth.*

On approaching the ruins the day before yester-

* See "the Stone of Hercules," "Pillars of Hercules," Vol. I. chap. xii.

day, the block which they constitute on the plain exhibited, as it became distinct, stones in the wall of dimensions so enormous, as to shut out every other thought, and yet to fill the mind only with trouble. The impossibility of any solution paralyzed the attempt to think; and instead of impatience to get on, it was a desire to run away that I experienced. Observing on the descending slope of the Anti-Lebanon to the right, a sharp edge which seemed to indicate those famous quarries from which it had been built, I turned off to visit them, and, spurring on, reached the edge, from which I looked down into the vacant space. Ibrahim Effendi, who was again my companion, and I, simultaneously reined in, stunned by the sudden appearance of that enormous block lying in the centre, which tradition narrates as having been dropped there in consequence of a strike of the operative Janns of Solomon. I was roused from my reverie by an exclamation of Ibrahim Effendi. "What madness to cut out a stone, that no one could carry away!" I answered, "This was one left behind. The others are in the wall."

To begin such a work, and to leave it unfinished! The distance from the quarry to the building is scarcely a mile. With the thousandth part of the labour, the quarry itself could have been scarped into the edifice. Why cut out the blocks here, to carry them there? It was no architectural performance. There is Baalbeck before me; take

away the Greek and Roman temples now stuck on the top, it is nothing but a quadrangular enclosure. It is not raised on the dead levels of Mesopotamia, where the height of a wall was required for a fastness. One can conceive the hewing out of enormous blocks for the statue of a king, the ornament of a palace, or the pomp of a temple, but here there is no such object; there is no conceivable object by which such an effort can be explained. The great statue of Memnon, the shafts of the obelisks, those of the granite columns which the Phœnicians brought from Egypt, and of which the fragments are strewed all over these coasts, astonish by their own magnitude, and perplex by the variety of excellence which constituted the grandeur to which they testify. But what are these to the blocks of Baalbeck? Here is one thrice the size of that required for the statue of Memnon, and from which five or six obelisks might have been cut, merely used to put in a wall. It is cut out here to be built in yonder, and is wheeled there like a tumbril of bricks. Tyrens to this is a prentice experiment, Stonehenge a nursery toy.

If we cannot discover the object of this work, still less can we conceive how such a work, whatever its object, could have been placed here. Pre-eminent structures invariably belong to seats of dominion. Geography has fixed the positions of capitals, and its decisions are absolute and irrevocable. A central point in reference to cultivable space, a connecting point in reference to communications,

security from attack, convenience for intercourse, access to the river, or the sea, in connection with hold upon the land; all these are wanting here. The Bkkaa is, as its name indicates, not a waddy or gorge, but a valley of meadows, of about 150 square miles; it is separated from the sea by the Lebanon, and shut out from the east by the Anti-Lebanon, is remote from the rich districts of Syria, both north and south, has no water communication whatever, and, however defensible the neighbouring mountains, is entirely destitute of military strength. There was here, therefore, not one of the elements combined at Memphis, Babylon, Nineveh, or any of the seats of empire, of the ancient or modern world. And yet here are ruins, surpassing in their indications and evidences of greatness anything to be found in those ancient capitals, to an extent which defies all calculation, leaving the imagination itself stranded on a bank of mud.

On the top of this comes a third riddle; how these works were interrupted. They are not merely not concluded, but they are stopped at the very beginning. Was it a panic in the money-market? Was it a bubble speculation? Was it a revolution in the streets? Was it a foreign invasion? Was it an irruption of savages? Was it a "confusion of tongues?" What could it have been? The mysteries of finance were not then invented; those who could plan such a structure, would not be likely capriciously to abandon it. With a people so

powerful on the face of the earth, it is hard to suppose another more powerful still; far less, that rude hordes should overpower them. All is again bewilderment.

Now we have a fourth riddle. This structure is alone; there is nothing upon earth in the remotest degree resembling it. We do not say "the Pyramid," but "the Pyramids;" nor is the peculiar group alone in the world; they belong to a system of which we can trace the progressive rise. Neither is Stonehenge a solitary structure; that of Salisbury plain may be pre-eminent, but it has its counterpart; there are many of them, and they are spread all over the world. Besides, monuments like the Pyramids, and like Stonehenge, are liable to destruction. The stones of Baalbeck are like the primeval rocks themselves; they could not be pulled down, nor could they waste away; nor again could they be covered over, as the palaces of Nimroud. Wherever erected, there must they stand, and they stand nowhere else. Again, for the fourth time, have we to give it up. It is like a troubled dream, and would be disposed of as such, only that there is that stone lying before me.

At length I descended into the quarry, where Ibrahim Effendi had been for some time very busy, taking measurements with my hunting-whip, about three yards long, and according to which he made out the stone to be 72 feet × 18 × 15; in round numbers, 20,000 cubic feet. Let any one stand in a room 24 feet by 18, and 15 feet high, and imagine

a stone of the same size. Let him then imagine one, equal to three such rooms! On its top 500 men could have been drawn up.

We had yet two hours of daylight, which we spent wandering and wondering amongst the ruins; and after that received hospitable entertainment from Emir Hangar and his tribe, making a numerous assembly, nearly all of whom were clothed in scarlet. The Emir himself was a magnificent old man of more than ninety, with a long flowing white beard, a white turban, and enveloped in ample and majestic folds of the brightest Tyrian dye, overflowing with affability, replete with traditions, and traditions such as belonged to the spot. I spent there a charming evening, notwithstanding my bodily pain; for I was suffering from one of those dreadful boils of the country, seated in the thigh, which rendered it impossible for me to walk.

Expecting to hear the story of Solomon and his Janns, universally reported as the local tradition, I put to Emir Hangar the question, who built Baalbeck? His answer was—"There have been three builders; the first was Sanoud, the second was (I have forgotten the name), and *then came the Deluge;* after that it was repaired by Solomon."

My first exclamation, on looking down into the quarry, had been "There were giants in the earth in those days." But the curious part of the affair is, that the ancient portion of Baalbeck, that portion which ascends beyond the earliest Cyclopic

thousands of years, consists itself of two most distinct eras. The first work, in which the stones of 70 feet are used, of which there are but four, is continued by walls, of which the stones are 30, to 50 feet; so that these two eras of the primeval period are correctly represented in the two antediluvian builders of Emir Haugar.

As to the tradition which refers it to Solomon—the books of Kings and Chronicles seem to say so, and that he held Baalath of such importance as to keep there one-third of his regular army—my answer is, *the Jews never were builders:* the family of Jacob, before it went to Egypt, did not build: there they were shepherds, and they did not learn then to build, but only to make bricks. Even the knowledge of bricks must have died out in the wilderness. They came to Judea as the Arab comes to-day, with tent and Tabernacle: when they set up stones "no iron was raised on them." They found Judea filled with cities, "walled up to heaven;" there they became for the first time dwellers in houses. They reared two great and lasting works, which the foundations of Moriah and the walls of Hebron still attest; but there is no proof that Hebrews were the architects. They never had a style of their own, as the whole course of their architectural remains evince, from the tomb of Abraham to that of Zechariah; using in the one period the massive forms of the early Canaanites; copying in the other the embellishments of Greece.

In the golden days of the Hebrews, Solomon had to borrow from Tyre "all sorts of workmen," cutters of stone and hewers of timber, workers in brass and gold and precious stones; and thus was constructed their great, their only work of magnificence, the Temple. The building, therefore, of Baalath could be nothing more than the reparation of its *walls*, in the same way that he is said to have built Hamath. Besides, if Solomon had built the *Temple* of Baalbeck, would he have expended on it labours to which there was nothing to compare at Jerusalem, and did Solomon raise the "House of Baal?" The Hebrews cannot, therefore, claim the glory of this edifice, or rob the sons of Gebel Souria of their title to be the first and most daring of architects.

Old as we hold the Hebrews, they came but late, and disappeared early: they occupied but a passing station in this valley during the reign of one king, and we might have doubted whether one of them had penetrated into the Mountain itself but for the descriptive passages of Ezekiel.

The builders of Baalbeck must have been a people who had attained to the highest pinnacle of power and science; and this region must have been the centre of their dominion. We are perfectly acquainted with the nations who have flourished here or around, and their works; they are the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Canaanites, and Jews. These complete the catalogue of ancient empires, and this work is none of theirs. Can it be referred

to the sons of Anak? This is equally inadmissible, for many similar must, in that case, have been found.

It was only on my way back, and when the tomb of Noah was pointed out to me by the wayside, that it occurred to me that there might be something in Emir Hangar's story, and that the stones of Baalbeck had to be considered as some of "those sturdy fellows that the Deluge could not sweep away." This, then, was a remnant of that pride and presumption, which had brought the waters over the face of the earth.

The supposition may appear extravagant. Let any one try and assign to these ruins a date or parentage. If he can succeed, well and good; but as this has not happened, my supposition is less extravagant than any other, seeing that no other has been offered. Besides, such a tradition as that conveyed to me by Emir Hangar is positive evidence, deserving of consideration even in the face of conflicting testimony; but when it stands not merely uncontradicted, but supplies a solution for a mystery without it unsolvable, what have we to do but to welcome it as a new and enlivening gift to our worn-out and fatiguing systems of reasoning and science? The old patriarchal man was ready with the names of these Antediluvian kings, not mentioned in the Pentateuch, just as if he had been telling me the names of his own children.

We are ourselves an Antediluvian race. Canaan

is an Antediluvian name. When the human race left the Ark, they did not go roaming about pasturing herds and flocks. The first thing we hear of is, planting of vineyards. An olive leaf is brought into the Ark itself; they therefore at once commenced polished life.

Before the Deluge the whole course of human society had been run. Even in the time of Cain a city, Enoch, was built. Then in progress of time we have those "that handle the harp and the organ;" then the "artificers in brass and *iron*;" and there were "mighty men, which were of old, men of renown." It was the wickedness of these men that brought the vengeance of heaven. It would seem that during this Antediluvian period, there had been no confusion of tongues and no division of the earth, the distinction between Noah and the rest being of a spiritual kind. The Antediluvian records were known to Moses: he interpreted in the Genesis their hieroglyphics. The progress of art and science is recorded in the Ark itself. A vessel 450 feet long, 75 broad, and 45 deep, pitched, and no doubt caulked, and fitted to carry 10 months' provisions and water for its ship's company, is constructed by Noah. He therefore shared in the knowledge of these men of renown, and navigation must have attained in these Antediluvian times to an extraordinary degree of perfection. For the building of the Ark, we have only the authority of the Bible. The dimensions and other

details which establish the character of the vessel, and the state of naval architecture, will be received with confidence only by those who place implicit reliance on the words of Scripture. They will be prepared to admit at least an equal degree of excellence in architecture. The sceptic, on the other hand, who visits Baalbeck, will cease to doubt that the men who could build into walls, stones of the weight of a three-decker with its guns on board, could construct a vessel of the dimensions recorded by Moses. I assume that the Antediluvian origin of the one can be no more contested by the critic, than that of the other by the believer.

Immediately after the flood we find the human race going building mad. In the third generation from Noah, besides Babel, Nimrod is said to have built Erech, Accad and Calneh; and Asshur built Nineveh, Rehoboth and Calah, and "Resen between Nineveh and Calah, the same is a great city."*

If the Antediluvian hypothesis explains the cessation of the work, it also explains the disappearance of similar structures, and allows us to imagine that Baalbeck was only a specimen of the then manner of building. The Deluge, in passing over the surface of the earth with a pressure of water which would sweep away the mightiest monoliths like straws, when in the rush of its current, would pass harmless over this spot; being, as it is, in the depths of Cœlo-

* Gen. x. 10—12.

Syria, and protected against the force of the retiring waters by the parallel ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

I had six hours more before returning, and should have wished to have had as many days. Out of the hill of marble, in a ravine, a mile from Baalbeck, gushes out El Shemsh, or the Fountain of the Sun, which I commenced the day by visiting, the morning cup of coffee being served to us on its brink. There are two semicircular basins, the one half the size of the other, which may date back to Sabæan times and represent the sun and the moon. Baal has the same meaning as Shemsh; it was then called "House of the Sun." Afterwards by the Greeks it was called "City of the Sun" (Heliopolis), a name which it preserved during the Greek and Roman domination; that is, from Alexander to Constantine IV. At an interval of 1000 years it resumed, in ruins, the name belonging to the ancient edifice, on the foundations of which the Greek and Roman temples were reared. During that interval Judæa, Samaria, the land of the Philistines, the ancient kingdoms of Basan and of Haran, had been swept with the besom; and not once only, but again and again, had devastation repeated her visit, until all traces of the original people had been effaced, till the name of Jerusalem had been as forgotten as that of Jebus or Ariel, and only revived by the inquiries of pilgrims from the West.

I have seen it stated in some descriptions of these

ruins that the stone in the quarry is of larger dimensions than any of those in the wall; but this is a mistake: it is larger than the three of the same shape which are placed in the fifth tier of the wall; but the angle stone of the layer below them, though not so high, is larger, for it is nearly as long, and considerably wider. It is bevelled, and the bevelling appears to have been executed after being placed in the wall. The measurement I obtained was 70 feet in length, 26 in width, and in height it is very near that of the layer above it, that is, 14 feet, which would give 25,000 cubic feet or about 2000 tons. The great statue of Memnon, the largest transported by the "ancients," is less than a third of this weight (749,000 killos.) The wall on the north meeting this one, is but of four layers; the upper stones run from 35 to 50 feet in length, and about 15 square; there are 8 or 9 of them, but I cannot claim accuracy for these measurements, not being able to take them myself. The angle formed by these two fragments of wall, is the wonderful part of Baalbeck. There are no towers; it does not bear the aspect of a military structure; the surfaces are smooth, the lines are chiselled out and ornamented, as if the material had been mahogany.

There are in Baalbeck seven eras of architecture, the last is that of the Saracens; through these you approach the ruins, and indeed, from the side of the village, the mass, as it appears, is of their workmanship. It has its own splendour and magnificence,

and exhibits no small mechanical proficiency, in the masses they have moved and placed. They have blocked up the intervals of the columns, and otherwise made it a place of much strength, erecting great towers, and encircling it with a wall.

On reaching the platform, you come among the Greek and Roman ruins, which here, under the influence of the genius of the spot, have assumed larger forms than are to be found in the native site of either.

The fifth period, the one which preceded the Greek and Roman, was the Phœnician. Where were its records? Where the temple that held the Betylia? It has disappeared; it must have stood upon the platform, and was probably pulled down to make way for the temples of the Greeks. My disappointment was, however, in part, subsequently compensated by a subterranean discovery.

The four anterior epochs which I thought I could trace, are to be found in the substance of the platform. I shall begin with these according to their order.

The plan of the building, as already stated, was a square enclosure. A small portion only of this has been completed in the old work, namely, the angle of the north-west, and the adjoining walls. It is there that may be seen the 70 feet stones built into the walls in tiers, and hoisted up 20 feet, and placed on several layers of smaller stones. The remainder of the space is filled up with piles of stones,

entirely of another order. Through these, two vaults are open, leading to the inference, that it is all vaulted below: these again may be divided into two orders; one may be called Cyclopic, the stones being irregular, the sides varying from 5 to 6 and 7 feet. The other is more systematic, and combines something of the Etruscan and the Egyptian, an arch being traceable in the one style, and a portal in the other.

Thus this spot contains, besides the two earlier epochs which I call Antediluvian, and which stand alone in the world, rudiments or records of every known order of architecture, with the exception of the Gothic. This reminds me of that other Temple of the Sun, known by the name of Curru Pandu, placed in the Vale of Cashmere, and rated the most ancient of Indian structures: every order of architecture is combined in it, including even the Norman and the Gothic.

I now come to my discovery. In one of the vaults, about eight feet from the ground, a stone has, by some accident, been removed, and my attention having been called to it by traces of fodder, I had myself lifted up, and got into a crypt beyond. Having been used for a storehouse of Indian corn, the husks lay around; so a blaze was easily made, and I proceeded to its examination. I could not doubt that I stood in a Phœnician Temple, perhaps the only one that still exists; but the whole, with the exception of a projecting pediment, has been carefully

defaced and mutilated, shewing a conflict of religions, as we see at a later period, by a similar mutilation of the Greek remains by the Arabs.*

But the Phœnician crypt was not my only discovery. In a gap opening a few feet into the masonry, I found mortar, hard as stone where exposed to the air, but soft within. Yet it was unlike other mortar; it was dark grey, with particles of charcoal: when I brought some out, it was recognized at once, and called *Kissermil*, or ashes from the bath. Those ashes are still used in this country for mortar, which with this addition becomes as hard as stone.† According to the old construction the baths were heated as an oven is, brushwood and dung being used as well as wood. The combustion not being complete there remain various chemical compounds, alkali, ammonia, sulphate and carbonate of lime, and carbon, which by entering into new combinations bind the mortar into a distinct substance. But still the matter presents great difficulties. Being always careful in observing mortar, I could not fail to remark a new variety such as this, and yet I had seen nothing like it. The Phœnician mortar concrete, with which I have been so familiarized, has no resemblance to it; there are no stones embedded

* The cuneiform inscriptions throw light on this conflict, a mutual desecration appearing to have been carried on between the Assyrian and the Khita.

† Vitruvius says that mortar should be mixed of three parts; one lime, one sand, and one ashes.

in it; and for this building and these stones no mortar was required. Whatever be the solution of the enigma in reference to the mortar, at all events one thing is clear; there were baths at Baalbeck. In the elaborately finished bath of Emir Beshir at Ibtedeen, one peculiarity struck me as evidencing their high antiquity in this land. It was the absence of cocks; instead of which simple plugs or clots of cloth were used for the pipes which brought the water into the basins. As the Romans and Greeks used cocks, the art of the bath had not been derived from them, but traced beyond them. Still it was curious to observe these ashes in the midst of Cyclopic blocks. And yet why should not the bath have belonged to the very earliest period of human society? it is sufficiently excellent to be from the beginning.

It was only after I could no longer satisfy myself experimentally, that I remembered that in opening up the pavement of an ancient bath on the western coast of Africa, I had come upon a somewhat similar deposit in large quantities under the floor. This was *Gazul*, the product of a certain mountain in Morocco, resembling soap-stone, but composed of an admixture of silex, alumine, magnesia and lime, and which has the peculiar property of polishing the skin when rubbed upon it, and so cleaning off the dead epidermis. Being used for this purpose largely in the baths, the grey deposit under the ruin in question was easily accounted for.

Might not this same Gazul, mixed with the Kissermil, have been the deposit which I took for mortar at Baalbeck? Supposing this conjecture to be correct, as I think it likely to be, it opens a new inquiry.

A man is not born into the world with clothes, nor are ready made hatters, hosiers and tailors, natural products. Man is born in his skin, and is, so to say, his own clothier; it is that skin that has to sustain the wear and tear of the world, and being endowed with that faculty, it is needful to it to undergo that wear and tear. It is in this sense that I say man is his own clothier; as instead of having to go for a new suit of skin, he is from within constantly repairing that which he has. Now if he puts a covering over that skin, the wear and tear no longer takes place; and the impenetrable varnish so supplied by nature not being worn off, the body becomes suffocated and the man is afflicted, just as a plant would be, when taken out of light and air. Thus it is that from the moment that the verdant and partial covering of Adam and Eve was replaced by textile and general clothing, the first necessity of man came to be the removal of his dead skin.

For this purpose four processes have been adopted throughout the families of the human race, and in successive times. The simple, the natural, the first hit upon, was the rubbing down with the ball of the hand, which is still the process used in this country for currying horses of high breed. The three others of a more refined, and, I may say, his-

torical character, are scraping, rolling and polishing. The scraping was with the strigel, which we know of from the Romans and Greeks, but which is figured on the tombs of Lycia, and the Roman name of which is derived from Mauritania. The rolling is that which we see to-day practised by the Turks. The polishing is with the Gazul, and practised by the Moors, to whom it is confined, and who alone possess the admirable substance which is used for it. Now if Gazul was used by the early inhabitants of Baalbeck, their bathing process belonged to the last of these systems, and they carried on a traffic with Morocco.

In the vegetable world this district has given us in the Cedars a marvel and a miracle. It affords us the same in the human world. The Cedar is primeval and alone, and is unproduceable from the seeds of its own growth. So is Baalbeck. The seed from which it sprung when it did arise, was man: but man to-day no more produces Baalbecks, than the cones to-day reproduce Cedars.

The men, who see reflected in Regent Street their faculties and tastes, their arts and civilization, cannot be expected equally to see a reflection of themselves in Baalbeck. Indeed it is something else they look at when they see it; it is the Greek and Roman works that fire their imagination, employ their pencils, and exhaust their science. If passing attention is called to the real structure, "how wonderful!" breaks out, and all is said.

The exclamation instead of an end, ought to have been a beginning; instead of a conclusion, it is a point of departure; instead of a thing to be looked at, it is a scaffolding upon which to stand, and from which to survey men as they have been, men as they are. If we cannot so much as comprehend the mere mechanical branch of the subject, are we at the summit of science and civilization? And what here is the mechanical branch? Architecture implies everything else. Where there are noble buildings there is excellence of taste, there is greatness of power, there is splendour of dominion, numbers, and wealth. Here no intellectual process is needed, no inductive reasoning; the stones themselves speak to our eyes, and the sermon these stones preach to us is, "Ye are pigmies." The improvement upon the text, "Ye are insolent pigmies."

There is but one Baalbeck, and that Baalbeck is but four stones. Still these four vertebræ, like those of the Ichthyosaurus of Conybeare, do enable the comparative anatomist to impersonate the society, and exclaim, in the words of Scripture, "There were giants on the earth in those days." But when those days were, who can tell?

I had intended to proceed from Baalbeck to Damascus, but was prevented by a bodily infliction, which made me consider myself very lucky to be able to get on horseback to return, with the best expedition I could make, to Beyrout. Boils are the malady of this country: the Aleppo button has made itself

a far-famed celebrity; it spares no stranger, and generally leaves its indelible impress on the face. Of course, all illnesses end with a boil; and invalids are peculiarly exposed to them. I had just recovered before starting, from one on the knee, which had kept me a prisoner for two months. The evening of my arrival at Baalbeck I had been admonished by certain unmistakable sensations of the reappearance of my enemy in the thigh. During the night it had advanced so as to deprive me of rest; in the morning, there was an extensive swelling, and the prospect before me of confinement for an indefinite period without medical aid, or any kind of relief or comfort, at Baalbeck. The bath was in ruins; by its aid I might have been able to escape, or by a vigorous application of leeches; but of these there were none to be had: so, as a last resource, I tried a firm bandage from toe to hip-joint, and it was in this condition, and carried between two men, that I visited the ruins. I did not start until I had left myself but bare time to reach Zachlé that night, and it was with equal relief to the spirit and torture to the flesh, that I found myself placed on horseback about 2 P. M. My companions exerted themselves to afford me distraction, by turning Messalogi, or story-tellers; and they ought indeed to have succeeded. At length I obtained rest, if not relief, under the hospitable roof of the Greek Bishop of Zachlé.

NOTE ON BAALBECK.

Extract from letter:

"Having been struck with your observations on the ruins of Baalbeck, I have compared them with those of other travellers. The subjoined are the measurements of the stone left in the quarry:—

	feet.
"Pocock . . .	68 × 17 — 8 × 13 — 10
"Wood and Dawkins .	70 × 14 × 14 — 5
"Dr. Wilson . .	69 × 17 — 1 × 14 to 16

"Wood and Dawkins estimate the contents of this one stone at 14,128 cubic feet.

"But no writer ventures to deal with the manner of men who executed these works, when they lived, and what the nature and source of their wonderful command of mechanical power of which no other vestige is preserved. Travellers speak of these things as if they were a production of nature. Dr. Wilson is the only one in whom they prompt any sort of reflection: he says, 'This stone is left nearly ready cut in the quarry, to challenge posterity to come up to the deeds of ancestry by removing it from its position.'

"The greatest stone moved in modern times is that used for the base of the statue of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg. It was 42 feet long at the base, 26 at the top, 21 thick, and 17 high. The greatest weight raised perpendicularly by hydraulic pressure is one of the tubes of the Britannia Bridge, which amounted to 2089 tons."

CHAPTER XX.

AN EMIR BESHIR.

April 29th, Brumana.—By my delay yesterday at Zachlé my plans were disarranged. I was to have been last night in the Shouf, to meet some Sheiks of the Druzes, and gone thence to-day to Emir Beshir's, at Brumana. I now made for the latter place, if only as being the shortest stage I could make; which, in my crippled condition, was the first object. The distance in time was seven hours, and I could not expect to do it in less; indeed, it took me nine. We struck off to the right from the Beyrout road at Khan Murad, three hours from Zachlé, and in half an hour crossed the crest of the Lebanon, and once again took leave of the Bkkaa; looking down upon it from this spot it has all the appearance of being lower than the Mediterranean.

I suppose this is to be my last glimpse of this stream of earth. I have not noted the strange mounds scattered over it, on which the villages are built: these must be what Strabo calls the χώματα of Semiramis (l. xvi. c. 1), and mentions as scattered over the whole of the ancient Assyrian Empire, attesting the greatness of the works of that Queen.

That such was the sense which he gave to this word, is clear from his mentioning Tyana and Zeile as built on them. Diodorus Siculus (l. ii. § 14) equally describes them, and attributes them to Semiramis. Ollivier speaks of them in Mesopotamia, and of dimensions such as to be scarcely supposed to be the work of man; and Volney describes one near Aleppo. The object was to secure cities against inundation; but as they are found where not so exposed, it is likely that the same process was adopted for other purposes, such as defence, for the salubrity of the habitations, or the enjoyment of the view. The same writer, enumerating the other works of Semiramis, such as roads, bridges, canals of irrigation, and for draining marshes and lakes, speaks of κλίμακες, a word which has puzzled commentators; but if they had visited the Lebanon, they would have had the difficulty solved. "Staircases" is the name which properly belongs to many of the roads, and some of them, even in unfrequented places, are constructed with materials of durability and dimensions worthy of claiming so remote and so distinguished a source.

We looked along the edges of the snow for the *Ribès*, a plant which grows only in the snow, and a bit of the stalk of which I had eaten the day before at Zachlé. It was like a stalk of rhubarb, of a bright green, soft, succulent, and acidulous. One of the plants was to have been brought to me this morning, but it never came; it was described as

three or four feet high, and with flowers. They make a confection from it (Ribès Sherob), which is much esteemed, at once as a sweetmeat and a purgative. Our guides told us it was only to be found in the district of Baalbeck, and that two jars of the confection was formerly the quit-rent paid by the Emir to the Sultan.

After crossing the ridge, we saw Brumana before us, but separated from us all the depth of the mountain. It stands on a projecting spur, half the height of the Lebanon: the extremity is occupied by the ruins of Deir el Kalah. To keep our elevation, we had to take a sweep to the right, along the face of this mountain theatre; but it was not without a deep descent and steep ascent that we reached our destination. About a couple of hours from Brumana, when scrambling down a rugged hill-side, I came in sight of a mansion of a novel description: it was a cluster of towers, which looked like pigeon-houses, by reason of rows of small square holes with which they seemed to be ornamented. The ground was scarped and levelled around; there was a parapeted esplanade, with magnificent oaks, and other signs of feudal state. As I approached I perceived ornamental work in arabesque, and soon after saw that it was untenanted and ruined. Not the ruin of time, but as if the week before it had been harried and burnt; the embers had cooled, but the inhabitants, if any survived, had not yet ventured forth from the caverns to re-occupy it. We passed round

and below it to the eastern side, to find the entrance. The door was open, for there was none: some of the apartments were, however, tenanted by people of the village. A dyer had established himself on one of the upper terraces, which was festooned with English long cloth, just drawn from an indigo vat: by means of ladders and planks, we ascended to a porch like that on the top of the palace of Emir Sadeddeen at Hashbaya, about a third of its dimension, but of more elaborate workmanship. Then the peasants hastened to bring us cushions, carpets, flowers and water. Our servants supplied pipes, nargillés, and coffee, and we sat down to take a little rest.

I asked to whom this old castle belonged, and had to repeat my question before I could credit the reply, '*to Emir Hydar!*' not only belonged to him, but was his residence, the residence and the only one of the Beit Bellamy, until he set about constructing the monstrosity I have described at Bekfaya. What a picture of the country. The name of the place is Salima, the seraï was built 250 years ago, by the Beit Souof, which preceded the Beit Bellamy. (Emir Beshir says 120 years ago, and by the Bellamy.) There was a small bath, which appendage has been forgotten in the new civilized edifice, which Emir Hydar has raised for himself at Bekfaya. When I asked why it was not repaired, the answer was—"The Emir is rather weak in the brains." The place had been set on fire recently, the beams

of the roofs are still standing, though charred; the spoilers had evidently not repeated their visit. The occasion was as follows:—

About five years ago, one morning the Kiaya of Emir Hydar sallied forth with the inhabitants of the village all armed, and fell upon a neighbouring Druze village. The people fled; they pillaged it and set it on fire. In a few hours, the war-cry of both parties had echoed from cliff to cliff. A large force on either side assembled, when a body of Turkish troops interposed, and prevailed on them severally to retire. To this amounted the operations of this "war." But in the mean time, the inhabitants of each village started as for a boar hunt, making a dash for some village of their antagonists, which they had learnt to be deserted, pillaging and firing it, and then retiring with their booty, to find their own homes pillaged, and in flames. Thus, without a purpose, a leader, or a conflict, the whole country was a scene of frenzy and desolation. The narrator said that he could only compare it to the cholera. The Kiaya in question is Kiaya up to the present hour.

The same individual was the immediate cause of the outbreak in 1841. The Sheiks have been in the habit of farming villages in the plain of the Bkkaa, which belong to Damascus, and which are, in a great measure, Vacouf. These Vacoufs were granted at trifling sums, the plain being open to the depre-

dations of the mountaineers: the chiefs had distributed these villages amongst themselves, as if it had been private property, none seeking at Damascus to outbid the other. These farms had been a means of existence to some of the families after Emir Beshir had put an end to their authority as Sheiks. After the events of the autumn of 1840, this Kiaya being at Damascus, when the farms were as usual put up for sale, outbid the Sheiks of the Talhouk and Abdulmalek for some villages opposite Zachlé, and the proprietors, thinking now that the rule of the Sheiks was over, hesitated not to grant them to the highest bidder. Finding, however, that the speculation was not so safe as he at first apprehended, the Kiaya got them passed under the name of Emir Melkem, the stupid fat Emir whom I visited at Hadeth. The Sheiks were vehement in their remonstrances, but having worked himself into the confidence of Emir Beshir (that one set up by the Powers), he obtained the sanction of that weak and obnoxious prince. The Druze Sheiks assembled hastily and in secret, and marched upon Deir el Cammar to expel Emir Beshir. The Kiaya, who had notice of their proceedings, represented the movement to the inhabitants as directed against the Emir, because he was a Christian, and said that it was their intention to set up a Druze. The people of Deir el Cammar were silly enough to believe him, and to take up arms in defence of the Emir, and the

war instantly became a religious one; the first in the Lebanon.*

At Selima I observed an arch with the key-stones curiously dissected, and in three parts; the arches in the house of the Sheik at Eden were of a similar form.

As I reached the ridge of the hog's-back on which Brumana stands, the sun was dipping into his western bed. Richness, variety, and grandeur are combined in the landscape rolled out below, or piled

* The Blue Book of 1843 expounds this war, placing the Turkish Government at the bottom of it!

"Disputes about the possession of land, and trivial matters were the causes of quarrel between the two sects, whose mutual animosity is proverbial. On the present occasion the Druses appear to have been the aggressors. It is reasonably enough supposed, that their late negotiations with the Turkish authorities, who have sought to strengthen themselves by a connection with them, and the encouragement which they have received from them, have induced the Druses to avail themselves of so favourable an occasion for seizing disputed land, and gratifying their feelings of dislike toward the Christians." (Colonel Rose, August 10, 1841.)

"Although they can hardly be said to have committed themselves by any direct act, *yet the instinctive conclusion* into which all are forced by the mass of concurrent circumstances *is, that the whole of their* (the Turkish Government) *procedure is the result of design*, and that the few steps which they have taken for the purpose of averting the course of events, were intended to conceal the support which in secret they were giving to the Druses, with a view to weaken the Maronites." (Colonel Rose, November 19, 1841.)

up behind. This and the prolongation of the ridge to Beit Meri are the places chosen by the Consuls and Europeans to retire to in the hot months; Brumana being the head-quarters of the British consulate, Beit Meri of its rival. Here the hiring of a house is, like everything else, a political affair. Colonel Rose has been in the habit of occupying that of Emir Beshir Bellamy, nephew of Emir Hydar, who is consequently considered his present creature, and future candidate for the Caimacanship. He has been at the head of the movements against Emir Hydar. Emir Beshir might be content to wait for the succession from the ordinary course of nature, but the option was not left to him. At the end of last year, on the occasion of a general demand for the removal of the Caimacan, the English Consul took up his defence, followed by the French. The extraordinary spectacle was thus exhibited of the two working together; but it was to crush popular complaints. The words of a dispatch from the English Ambassador, just received by Mr. Moore, are reported thus:—"The Porte has despatched orders not to listen to any complaints against the Caimacans."

"No complaints to be listened to." Behold the maxim of Government laid down by the Powers. How indeed attend to complaints, which, by repressing, they have rendered universal? The Consuls went so far as to require the Pasha to seize Emir Beshir, and send him to Constantinople. This was

explained by the necessity of supporting "the system of Chekib Effendi." That system had made the administration of the Lebanon independent of the Pasha, except in certain specified cases, none of which had here arisen. Their support of the system consisted in constraining the Pasha to seize, exile, and displace persons and functionaries, without even trial, and by his own arbitrary act.

The well-defined positions were: the patronage of Emir Hydar by the French Consul; of Emir Beshir by the English Consul. Mr. Moore's junction with the French Consul against Emir Beshir was therefore a surprise and an enigma, and it is explained by Mr. Moore having been made to believe that the French Consul was acting in concert with Emir Beshir. Colonel Rose has now written to hire again the house of Emir Beshir, who is much embarrassed by the proposal. Colonel Rose, before his departure, had put a deadly affront on Emir Hydar, turning him out of doors when he called, because he had first visited the French Consul. But he has since written a letter of excuses and reconciliation. The Emir has been most urgent for my present visit; I know not whether in reference to the negociations or the price he may get for his house. A European quarrel is always ready in a box: the British Minister can any day charge the Porte with infraction of stipulations, and, even without getting up an insurrection, demand in an insulting tone some outrageous reparation.

An angry correspondence is at present going on about me, between the English Consul and the Turkish authorities. The communications were made through the interpreter, but the Pasha required them to be put on paper, when it was reduced at last to this: that I had received an official letter of introduction to Sheik Nasif. The English Consul knew equally well that I had also a letter of introduction from the French Consul; but a Consul may give a letter of introduction, though a Pasha may not. At the same time they were officiously given to understand that "the English embassy was very busy in obtaining from the Porte the abolition of the system of Chekib Effendi. That the Lebanon would owe this great benefit to the British, and that the Firman would be expedited in 15 days." Of course then it was needless to take any further steps; short as was the promised interval, I, in the meantime, would have been shipped on board the French steamer. The English consulate has been awakened to what is in progress, and has seen its utter powerlessness to prevent, except indeed by the expedients, which belong to Mr. Moore's "Crooked Path."

The house at Brumana was an hospital. The whole family were laid up; the Emir himself had been unwell at Beyrout, and had come up in order to receive me, but was now in bed. He got up, however, for a little, but retired again when we went to supper. Excepting the Shaab, Emir Faris, he is

the only one of the class I have met with, that, in manner and conversation, evinces signs of ordinary capacity. Nothing could exceed his cordiality, except his humility.

I had to struggle with a fit of laughter, whenever I looked at my host. He, simple-minded man, thought his name was Emir Beshir Bellamy. He did not know that in the English Blue Books he was *an Emir Beshir*. What would a denizen of England say, if in reading Consular Reports in a Turkish Blue Book, he came upon such a passage as this:—

"The Lord John expresses his regret that he had accepted Her Majesty's offer to become Lord John."

It being the Turkish Consul's intention to convey the following sense:—

"Lord John Russell expresses his regret that he had accepted Her Majesty's offer to become Prime Minister."

The letters of Mrs. Malaprop about a country may be very amusing; not so the governing of a country on the principle of that gentlewoman. Here is a sentence penned by Colonel Rose, whose landlord is an Emir Beshir.

"*The* Emir Beshir expresses his regret that he had accepted the offer of Her Majesty's servants to become *Emir Beshir*."

I reached Beyrout by sunset, and found the Pasha just sitting down to dinner, with a portly and uninviting functionary, just arrived from Constanti-

nople for Damascus, where he is to preside over the Megilis. As soon as I had got my answers, in which the Pasha shewed a knowledge of the detail of business which surprised me, I went to the bath, having sent on in the morning to have it kept open. I experienced its power in discussing tumours, which I had never had occasion before to try. My leg had been from Baalbeck under a tight bandage, from toe to hip joint. A large space around the spot of the original tumour, was in hard lumps, and an extensive suppuration threatened. I subjected myself to the greatest heat, until I was brought out fainting. After being revived, by dashing cold water over me, a profuse perspiration again followed, and at the end of three hours, my leg was no longer recognizable; and could I have laid up next day, it would have been well.

This is the second of the kind which I have experienced. The former one kept me laid up for two months. I now know that I should have escaped all the consequent tortures and danger, had I gone then to the bath, instead of sending for a doctor.

CHAPTER XXI.

AGONY OF TEN YEARS.

When first taken ill, the tumult of an official residence being too much for me, I was removed in a sedan chair to a residence without the walls, in the house of the engineer of the Constantinople steamer, where, as I was not excluded from receiving guests, sufficient knowledge of the culinary art was attained, to enable them afterwards to convert the place into a hotel; and there I found it more convenient to alight during my excursions. I was thus thrown into intercourse with various European travellers. The experience has not been without its use in bracing me to my task. The utter deadness in reference to all that is going on as business in the world; the vacuity of idle talk; the misery of the general propositions which forms their conversation; the hopelessness of conveying to them, even if they desired it, the faintest idea of the country they have come to visit, or what is going on in it, impress me as I never have felt before with the utter powerlessness of European society, to recover any command over its own fate. The difference with the people of this country, can only be felt in passing immediately from the one to the other. Troubles

and convulsions, not speculative and theoretic, have their attractions. There is that contempt of death, that love of life, that affection for friends, and that hatred for foes, which we call up only from antiquity, and personate only on the stage.

I have already more than once drawn the contrast between the working classes of the two regions. How I have understated the case! Infidelity—not that of the New Testament, wickedness—but the verbal profession of the disbelief of the soul, proselytism, political speculation, drunkenness and prostitution, are unknown. The man who proposed to rid any European country of these curses would be held to be ignorant of human nature, yet they are unknown in this very Lebanon, which Europeans undertake to teach and correct.

Amongst these travellers I found one with whom it was possible to converse. He one day said to me; "You are constantly assuming a distinction between the Eastern and the Western mind: in what does that distinction consist?" So questioned, I put the case thus: The European speaks without thinking; the Eastern never does. The European tells you for conversation or argument what you already know; the Eastern never does so. The European assumes that the man he speaks to is a fool; the Eastern assumes that he is speaking to a wise man. The European meets a statement by a preliminary objection; the Eastern attends to what you say. The European is offended if you shew

him that he is wrong; the Eastern is grateful. The European's enjoyments consist in appearing to others to enjoy; the Eastern in enjoying himself. The European's conversation consists in replying by something else to what has been said; the Eastern's in replying to what has been said. The whole mind of the one is engaged during the conversation with himself; that of the other with his interlocutor. Self-love is the disease of old states; and self-love strikes a man, however young, with decrepitude. We have gone through many changes—they through few. We are an old people—they a young one.

This person's curiosity being awakened, he got from me so much of the matter in hand, as to make him say, "You are then single-handed, engaged against all the Powers of Europe." The words set me upon thinking how I should present the case to one who commenced with this Lebanon. The expedient which suggested itself was, to place before such a person the Blue Books. On my side, I say, there are two evils to be got rid of: the Blue Books are occupied with the introduction of two benefits. The evils and the benefits imply the same things: the means for introducing them, or for expelling them, are the same—human speech. Let us open the Blue Books.

1. Division of the Druzes and Maronites. When I saw the villages partly Druze and partly Maronite, I was bewildered by the monstrosity of this scheme. Any one may make the case his own

by supposing a division of Ireland between two Lord Lieutenants, one Roman Catholic and one Protestant.

When I asked how long these troubles had subsisted, I learnt that the first religious war had occurred only within eight years. When I asked, Who had devised this scheme? I was answered, "*The Turkish Government!*"

A conference was held on the 27th May, 1842, at which the Representatives of the Powers insisted upon the restoration of the Shaab family; the ministers of the Porte refused, on the ground that an insurrection would be the inevitable result: thereupon—"*It was asked whether the Sublime Porte would be opposed to a combination by which the Druzes and the Maronites should be placed under two separate chiefs, selected respectively in each nation.*"

Then follows—"The Turkish Ministers reply, that this MEASURE IS IMPRACTICABLE, because the DRUZES AND THE MARONITES LIVE MIXED TOGETHER IN THE SAME VILLAGES."

It is not stated who put this question. The Ambassador of England is mentioned by name where he makes a statement, the Chargé d'Affaires of Austria when he reads a despatch. The five could not have asked the question together; some one voice must have spoken. Did the others see nothing in it? Did they too, like the poor Turkish Ministers, fancy it was a mere hap-hazard suggestion of the

moment? So much we obtain at the first glance: in a conference conducted on the part of the five Powers, by the English Ambassador, in reference to enforcing a scheme for the government of the Lebanon, based upon its Union, he is crossed by a proposal for its division from one of his colleagues; and, in reporting the same, he suppresses, by using an impersonal form of speech, the name of that colleague.*

It could not be the French Ambassador who asked the question; he knew as well as the Turkish Ministers that the proposition was monstrous, and France has throughout treated it as such. It was not the Representative of Austria, for the report states his view of the matter. It was not the representative of Prussia: it does not belong to a fifth Power to ask questions. Who, then, was it? The name of the Representative of Russia does not so much as once occur, except in an enumeration, in this elaborate Report, consisting of 39 paragraphs.

If the proposal did not come from the Porte, it could have come only from England or from Russia: we fix it on the one, if we succeed in exonerating the other. The Representative of the Government which had made the first move in so important a matter, would not lose an hour in communicating it,

* The Report of the Conference is in French, and is unsigned. The Report was, therefore, prepared for the British Ambassador, not drawn up by him.

and would have to explain the fortunate dead-lock into which the affair had been brought, so as to enable him to propound it. Sir S. Canning, in the Despatch inclosing the Report, makes not the slightest reference to it; he is entirely occupied with the restoration of the Shaab family, and the "conflict between adverse impressions and irreconcilable testimony." He writes only on the 9th of June, or 13 days after the conference!

The Syrian Blue Book commences in May, 1841, and ends in January, 1843. But to facilitate the comprehension of its contents it is bound up in two separate volumes, one of which contains the correspondence with the Lebanon, the other the correspondence with Constantinople. So that the evidence being in the one, and the reasonings in the other, you are reciprocally discharged from a superfluous encumbrance. The Syrian news you can take up as a romance, the diplomatic discussions as a discipline. The two currents are so parallel that they never meet, and embarked on the one, you of necessity lose sight of the other. Therefore when I say that the first diplomatic enunciation of the scheme was on the 27th of May, 1842, it is without prejudice to what may be discovered in the consular stream flowing from Beyrout. Opening up this source, we find the whole matter prejudged and settled, just one year and two days before Sir S. Canning enclosed to Lord Aberdeen the Report of the Conference. On the 7th of June, 1841, Colonel

Rose also "asked" something: it was "whether the appointment of Emir Hydar to be Lieutenant (Caimacan) of the Mountain, or of its Christian population under the Emir Beshir, might not be productive of good?" It is to Emir Hydar himself that the question is put. The good man is described as very much pleased with it; upon which Colonel Rose, in conjunction with Mr. Moore, engages to bring it about. Having thus settled the matter, Colonel Rose proceeds to offer arguments in favour of the fitness of the arrangement, "because the Emir Beshir, with a view of securing the *allegiance* of the Druzes, *is about to give a similar appointment over them* to their Chief, Sheik Naaman, the rich and powerful representative of the ROYAL FAMILY, the SHEIKS BESHIR." (!) This is "the Misters John" to which I have already referred; for Sheik is a title equivalent to Mister, and Beshir a name as common as John.* The catastrophe may be Tragedy, but the dialogue is Farce.

I must pause to tell the story of this "Mr. John."

"During the war Mehemet Ali created him a Bey, and invested him with the government of Mount Lebanon, provided he could wrest it from the hands of the Turkish generals. With this object he joined

* The Beyrout Consul had so well indoctrinated his people of the Constantinople Embassy, that they positively speak of this one or that one being made "Sheik Beshir," and "Emir Beshir." The whole of Frankhood consequently speaks of "*the* Emir Beshir" and "*the* Sheik Beshir."

the Egyptian forces at Gaza, but the war coming to a close, he demanded and obtained permission to return to his home, provided he abstained from interfering in the affairs of Lebanon.

"His first act, however, was to assassinate with his own hands, at his own house, his cousin, Sheik Negim, and his brother, for some property, and it was with difficulty they saved the children of the deceased from his vengeance, whom he endeavoured to kill also: and his second act, that of exciting secretly both the Druzes and the Christians against the present Government. His cousin, Sheik Negim, was the first Druze noble who declared in favour of the Sultan, and who took up arms in defence of his cause."

This is authentic and official; it is penned by Mr. Consul Wood, and addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Minister, on its receipt, sends a message to the "Mr. John," expressing in "the strongest terms, the extreme disappointment felt by Her Majesty's Government at such an instance of his disregard of the assurances which he has so repeatedly given of his desire to comply with the wishes of the British Government." It is hard work copying sentences like these. "The disregard of his assurances repeatedly given of his desire to comply," could have reference neither to Sheik Negim, nor to his brother, since he had killed them; it must be to the little children whom he had not yet killed; for when a British Minister addresses an assassin, it

can surely only be with reference to the assassination.

The Foreign Minister, however, goes on tell him that he (the assassin), is "well aware that the first wish of the British Government is, that the different sects inhabiting the Lebanon should live at peace with each other, and"—(I really cannot copy the frightful sentences, they are Lord Aberdeen's. I must give the substance), and he is to expect the patronage of England, only by keeping quiet and obeying the Sultan.

This message was to be conveyed by a Consul. That Consul is an officer and a gentleman. It is not to be expected that he would convey it, and he does not convey it. That an English gentleman at the head of a department, should send messages to the subjects of a foreign power, (putting the stains of blood and infamy aside), suffices to explain all that has been or can be done. Colonel Rose declines to deliver the message; not because the office is disgraceful, but because the message is improper. He says, "with respect to the message which your Lordship is pleased to direct me to deliver to Sheik Naaman, I feel somewhat embarrassed." He is not the least embarrassed about it. He does not take the trouble of noticing Lord Aberdeen's instructions, until two months after their receipt. Sheik Naaman is Colonel Rose's Caimacan, and Colonel Rose is not the servant of Lord Aberdeen. Thus it is that the scheme of Caimacanships was prepared for in the Lebanon

by the English Consul before the suggestion of it was risked at Constantinople by the Russian Minister. It was therefore not an English scheme but a Russian, and an English only because a Russian.

At this time the Five Powers laboured under serious inconvenience in regard to the Lebanon; it was in a state of tranquillity, and it was administered by a Turkish Pasha.*

Sir S. Canning on the 9th of June, had written a second despatch on the affairs of the Lebanon, in which he speaks of the "forced tranquillity which now subsists in Mount Lebanon," and which otherwise reveals his passion for the restoration of the Shaabs; in it he calls upon the Five Powers for authorization to employ "*stronger language*" to enforce it. He explains the motives of the Porte for refusing to reinstate the Shaabs, not by the plain reasons they had assigned without contradiction at the time on his part,† but by insinuating a treache-

* "The appearances of support by a considerable portion of the Sheiks and Emirs, though obtained in favour of a Turkish Governor, by corrupt means, are, to a certain degree embarrassing; especially when many who have signed the petitions on that side, declare their readiness to come up to Constantinople, and confirm their signatures by personal testimony."—Sir S. Canning to Lord Aberdeen, June 27, 1842.

† "Mr. Consul Wood stated on his arrival here from Constantinople, that Her Majesty's ambassador *had obtained a promise from the Sublime Porte, that the ex-Emir Beshir should never return to Syria.*"—Colonel Rose, 1st Oct. 1841.

"The restoration to power of the ex-Emir Beshir, would inflict misery on the Lebanon."—Colonel Rose, 1st Oct. 1841.

rous purpose; namely, its "policy to exclude the Christians from any participation in the government of the country."

After this he introduces a perfectly new idea, which possibly might be found "not wholly undeserving of attention;" it is to have the whole of Syria placed under a single Pasha, with inferior officers placed over each district, "a Maronite for the Maronites, and a Druze for the Druzes." On the 27th of the same month there is another long despatch of trouble, confusion and perplexity, an extract from which fills three folio pages. In it he directly contradicts, without retracting, his malevolent calumny in the former one against the Turkish Government, saying, "it would be almost impossible to unite the Druzes and Maronites under a Maronite chief." So then the Shaab scheme is given up!

He further says, "the separation of the two communities under different chiefs would also have its *difficulties, inconveniencies,* and DANGERS." So then the Caimacan scheme is given up!

He then goes on: "the Turks have succeeded in dividing the *Christians* into two parties, and arousing the passions of both against each other." The process by which they have done this is, "by reviving those feudal rights which had merged in the ascendancy of the Shaab family, and by sanctioning claims of property long since confiscated." In other words, the bringing back of the Sheiks, whom England, not the Porte, had brought back, whom

England was at that moment patronising; the chief of whom, Sheik Naaman, the assassin of his cousin and his brother, is, according to Colonel Rose, the representative of the "Royal Family," and to whom Lord Aberdeen sends friendly messages. From whom then does Sir S. Canning receive his information? Not certainly from Colonel Rose. He must have had his information from the person who asked the question of the 27th of May. Lord Aberdeen, in replying to this despatch (July 21st) supplies Sir S. Canning with a vast deal of information on the state of the Lebanon, flatly contradicting all that Sir S. Canning has told him, namely, that "the Sheiks Beshir were local Druze Governors, and that their authority had been annihilated by the tyranny of the Emirs Beshir." But he does not on this point out to Sir S. Canning, that he has fallen into any mistake in saying that the Turks had succeeded in dividing the Christians; he passes on to inform him, that "it had *always* appeared to him (Lord Aberdeen) that the most natural and judicious course for the Porte was to select a native chief among each of these people;" so that, each "should never be brought into immediate contact with the people of either persuasion,"—where both are living side by side!

What must be the effect upon any honourable mind of these secret calumnies, insinuations, misstatements, contradictions, confusion and bewilderment! But here at last we have the scheme of the division

as an original and primitive conception of Lord Aberdeen! And no wonder. Lord Aberdeen, on entering office, received within three days, dispatches on the Lebanon, amounting to 300 pages!

On the 24th of October the plan of Caimacanship becomes "the demand of Her Majesty's Government," resting "on the *pledge given to the British Ambassador* by the Porte in the year 1840," that the "*ancient rights and privileges of the Syrians should be respected.*" I must give the whole of the following passage:—

Her Majesty's Government, relying upon the sincerity of the Porte, *communicated, through its agents, that pledge to the people of Syria; and they have therefore become morally responsible for its fulfilment.* And as it is one of the ancient rights and privileges of the Syrians of Mount Lebanon that they should be governed directly by rulers selected from among themselves, and *not by Mahometan officers*, Her Majesty's Government must continue to insist, &c.

On this, Sir S. Canning (Nov. 26th) charges the Turkish Ministers with seeking "to divide the Powers"! having a week before (Nov. 8) written to Colonel Rose in these terms:—

As it appears that the spirit of active resistance now manifested by many of the Druze and Maronite Chiefs is in part attributable to their despair of obtaining redress *by means of our negociations* here, I am anxious to inform you, with the least practicable delay, that the instructions recently received, as well by myself as by my several colleagues, that we shall succeed before long in overcom-

ing the obstinacy of the Turkish Government, and obtaining for the inhabitants of the Mountain the form of local administration to which they are *so habitually attached.*

In December, the several original conceptions of Sir S. Canning, Lord Aberdeen and Colonel Rose are crowned with success. The former makes the announcement to his chief in these terms:—

I have much satisfaction in stating to your Lordship that, in compliance with the advice of the Allied Powers and the urgent solicitations (menaces) of their respective representatives, the Turkish Government has at length announced its intention of *restoring Mount Lebanon to the benefits of a local native administration.*

Meanwhile, in anticipation of the two Caimacans, the English Government has conferred upon the Mountain two Consuls: whilst Colonel Rose operates from Beyrout, Mr. Wood operates from Damascus; whilst the former is settling the Caimacanship and selecting his nominees as the respective candidates, the latter is pointing out the inevitable consequences of a scheme, which he attributes to the perfidy of the Turkish Government.

Mr. Wood writes to the Maronite Patriarch, September 1, 1841:—

To prevent a fatal result, or, more plainly speaking, a civil war between the Druzes and Christians, the inevitable consequence of any attempt to divide the Government of Mount Lebanon—

Twenty-three days before the fatal conference, he wrote to Sir Stratford Canning (May 4, 1842):—

I hasten to acquaint your Excellency with a private communication made to me by a high authority, that the ultimate intentions of the Porte are to appoint a Christian and a Druse chief to the government of Lebanon, in case that the commissioner, Selim Beg, fails in his attempt to persuade the Maronites to accept a Turkish Pasha.

I may be permitted respectfully to observe that the division of the authority in a country constituted like Mount Lebanon, with the feelings that appear to predominate in the minds of its population, is likely to lead to future contests for supremacy between them, and consequently to bloodshed and disorder.

* * * * *

It is to be presumed that the Porte intends by dividing the government of Lebanon, that each sect should reside under the more immediate authority of its respective chief; but this is scarcely practicable in a country where not only the population, but the landed property is mixed. Another great difficulty, if not insurmountable, offers itself to the accomplishment of this plan; namely, the pretended feudal rights of the Druse and Christian chiefs over some of the Monkatas or districts, and of which both are very tenacious. For instance, the feudal lords of the district of Meten are Christians, and yet the peasants are mostly Druses; to the south, the lords of the manor are mostly Druses, but a great portion of the peasants are Christians. In both cases many of the peasants have landed property, and hold tenements which it cannot be expected they will either abandon or transfer.

These objections will always occur to the execution of such an intention on the part of the Porte; but it may be that the Porte, either unconscious of these serious difficulties, or unwilling to give them the consideration due to them, may decide upon the appointment of a Christian

and a Druse authority; thus creating thereby fresh causes of trouble to itself, to the inhabitants, and matter for unpleasant discussions to others.

If it be the serious intention of the Porte to appoint two Governors, the same policy will naturally lead it to separate the Metualis from the rest, and appoint a third over them (and the Greeks?). The chiefs of these people have already presented a memorial to the Seraskier relative to the old right of having a Governor of their own; and the Pasha of Tripoli has also claimed the administration of the northern districts of Lebanon, which he pretends form a part of his Pashalic. In this manner, by the separation and subdivision of the Christians, the Porte will obtain its principal aim, the destruction of their influence and power; whereas, on the other hand, the advantages that will be gained by the Druses will be very considerable. But it may be that the Porte, in rearing a new power in the heart of Syria, is unconscious of its own inability to control it hereafter.

What must have been the paroxysms of Sir S. Canning on perusing this despatch? Could he write back to Mr. Wood, and tell him that the proposal was not that of the Porte, who had scouted it, but of the Russian Minister, from whom he had accepted it? Could he tell Mr. Wood that it was an excellent scheme? No; he could not venture to write to Mr. Wood, and does not do so. Mr. Wood remains to the last in ignorance that it is an English scheme, and is suffered to go on denouncing it to his superiors, reviling it to the people, and quoting it as an instance of Turkish stupidity and perfidy.

We now see by these documents how the intrigue was managed. But was it seen at the time by the people? Russia nowhere appears, save as one of the Five Powers led by England. When Mr. Wood only saw the hand of the Porte, what else could the people see? And why is Mr. Wood kept under this delusion, if not that he might spread it amongst the people? So completely is this idea established that the Patriarch of the Maronites is induced to "entreat the mediation of Great Britain between the Porte and themselves." (Colonel Rose, August 10th, 1841.)

In conclusion, the terms used by the Turkish Ministers when they do yield, are too remarkable not to be preserved. Sarim Effendi thus writes to Sir C. Canning:—

Mustapha Pasha declared himself fully convinced, that the plan of the nomination by the Mushir of Saida of two Kaimacans, one for the Druses, and the other for the Maronites, which had previously been determined upon, with the hope of securing the tranquillity of the Mountain, which is so unanimously desired, could not effect that object, *unless these Kaimacans were chosen amongst strangers;* at the same time that he asserted, in a formal and positive manner, that that tranquillity could not be attained if, on the contrary, it was decided to select the said Kaimacans from amongst the Druses and Maronites.

The Turkish Ministry regret deeply to observe that this point of the question has given rise during the last year to so many discussions and arguments; and that, notwithstanding the good government which it has succeeded in

re-establishing in the Mountain, and the convincing proofs of its assertion, which it has in its power to produce, the High Powers, its friends and allies, have never changed their opinions in this respect.

The Sublime Porte, however, actuated by those sentiments of respect which she never ceases for a moment to entertain towards the Five Great Powers, her dearest friends and allies, has, in order to arrive at the solution of a question so delicate, and which at the same time is one of her own internal affairs, preferred to conform to those wishes, rather than to meet those wishes with a refusal.

It is, however, evident, that the views of the Sublime Porte, and those of the Great Powers, having both the same object—the re-establishment of order in the Mountain—whichever of the systems proposed by the two parties was adopted, it could be considered at first only as an experiment. If this result can be obtained by this system, the wishes of the Sublime Porte will be accomplished, and she can only be grateful for it; but if, as she has reason to fear, from the information continually received up to this time, tranquillity should not be restored in Syria, in that case the justice of the objections hitherto raised by the Porte, must plainly be acknowledged, and the government of His Highness would, by common consent, have been in the right.

So determined a resistance of the Porte, so clear an enunciation of the grounds of her refusal to divide the Lebanon, and such accurate prognostications of the consequences, were revelations for which I was unprepared. But unhappily the Turkish Ministers thought to escape by accepting the plan as an "experiment." I have not the Blue

Books of a later period to refer to at present, but find amongst my papers one extract which says everything. Lord Cowley writes to M. Guizot, July, 1844:—

The system of the Caimacans was the work of the Five Powers, who from the origin did not disguise to themselves the difficulties of the plan *created* by the repugnance of the Porte for the Cheab (Shaab) . . . .

But if the present system proved after such trial impracticable, the English Cabinet would be found quite disposed to act in concert with the other Powers, interested in perfecting the actual plan, or in substituting another for it.

Nevertheless, it might be inconvenient and even dangerous to reverse a decision adopted with solemnity by the Powers, and to which the Druzes and the Maronites had adhered with the exception of a faction, and as for England she had no interested views, and sought only the tranquillity of the Lebanon and the peaceful supremacy of the Porte.

But an explanation of the failure of the experiment had been prepared for beforehand; when Sir S. Canning writes to Lord Aberdeen, enclosing his reply to the letter of the Reis Effendi, and informing him that a "despatch announcing the important intelligence to Colonel Rose went on from Smyrna, without an hour's delay," he says:—

Your Lordship will observe, that in my own reply to Sarim Effendi, I have endeavoured to reconcile the silence which is requisite to avoid that danger, with the eventual disappointment of our present hopes, by recording the actual disturbed state of Mount Lebanon, as a point of

departure for the experiment, as Sarim Effendi describes it, of a recurrence to the old principles of government in that district; and intimating that we are neither blind to the source of the present disorders, *nor inclined to be passive spectators of any insidious attempt to render the measure now adopted practically abortive.*

To Colonel Rose, when announcing it, he says:— "It is manifest, at the same time, that the result of the Porte's decision will principally depend upon the manner and spirit in which it is carried into effect."

Here is the key note for the Consuls. Whatever happens, the Turkish Government is to be at the bottom of it; and whatever it does, or is said to do, is to be the result of the design to render the Caimacan system impossible! Thus it is that that "uniformity of the consular reports," which was the "strong ground" of the Ambassadors, was provided.

Thus the first evil against which I am contending is removable only by triumphing over the "Five Powers," it being their work. Were the French or Austrian Governments endowed with sense to see the danger to their own future security involved in the conspiracy here carrying on, they, Governments as they are, would be powerless to resist; for the means of counteraction are to be found only in moving the Turkish Government to an effort of independence, through the spontaneous action of its people.

THE ENGLISH TREATY OF COMMERCE. Here the name alone tells the story. To this treaty the other Powers have adhered, so that here again we have the "Five Powers." The Blue Books shew the English officials to have been perfectly aware of the consequences of enforcing it; they prevented its relaxation by the Turkish Government, and intercepted the petitions of the people appealing for relief.

A word first as to its nature. Imagine duties varying from 25 to 90 per cent placed upon the staple manufactures of England. Imagine these same duties equally levied upon the cottons sent from Manchester to London, on the woollens from Leeds to Manchester, on the hardware from Birmingham to Leeds, and on the linens from Belfast to Birmingham!—then will be understood "The English Treaty of Commerce."* To have the case

* Note of Prince Metternich.—"They (the Turkish Government) would see themselves no longer exposed to the reproach of having contributed, by the Convention of the year 1838, to the ruin of several branches of the industry of the country, and to the misery of a portion of the manufacturing class."

Reply of Mr. Gladstone.—"Her Majesty's Government shares entirely the opinion that the considerable charges imposed on exportation are impolitic, and that they place the productions of Turkey on a footing very disadvantageous with respect to their competitors in the market of the world."

Mr. Alison, Secretary of Embassy.—"The indiscriminate *ad valorum* taxation at present enforced has had the effect, which might have been surely anticipated, of putting an end to, or else

complete, imagine, concurrently with this measure, another imposed by the Ambassadors in London, for dividing Ireland between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant; then you will have the process to be applied at a future day for securing the "Rights and Liberties of the English," as now exemplified in the Lebanon.

This treaty came into operation in 1839, but was not applied to the Lebanon. The mere announcement of the intention of inflicting it, opened the epoch of agony for the Lebanon. The commotion furnishes the "point of departure" required by the Ambassadors for their schemes, namely "disturbance." The Russian Minister "asked" his question only on the 27th of May, 1842. The Tariff was proposed at Beyrout on the 10th of April, 1841. The members of the Divan of that place, *who had been first made to take an oath of secresy*, were "alarmed," and assert "that this tax, in addition to 1 per cent port charges, would amount to 25 per cent." Colonel Rose upon this makes a philosophical reflection:—"The Maronites in the present day are a difficult people to deal with. They are extremely alive to their own interests."

Thereupon he proceeds to convey to the Pasha, "that the amount of taxation demanded from the

checking in an important degree, the exportation of many kinds of merchandise to foreign states, whilst in the home trade it has led the consumer to substitute for native manufactures, cheaper and more lightly taxed foreign goods."

Mountain was beyond what it could pay." The Pasha is amenable to reason, and the matter is to be referred back to the Porte and to the English Ambassador. Lord Palmerston hastens, on the receipt of the despatch to convey to Colonel Rose, "the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government." On the 3rd of May, a new meeting is held in the Pine-wood to announce to the Governors and Deputies the new taxes. They expressed themselves in language somewhat energetic, saying, "You may take our bones, but we will never pay these taxes." Colonel Rose considers "the demeanour of the people as threatening;" and again urges that the new taxes be not demanded for the present, "*with the exception of the tariff*, WHICH IS LAW."

On this Colonel Rose makes "confidential" communications to the secretary of the Emir, and which he is, "as if from himself," to bring to the notice of the Chiefs and the people: namely that the Turks propose to exterminate them; but as they (the Turks) "would infallibly be defeated" if they attempted to do so by open attack; they would have recourse to starving them, and setting them against each other.* He then says to his chief, "I do not

* When afterwards the Turkish Government, on learning this and similar perfidies, proposed to bring charges against Colonel Rose, Lord Aberdeen declares he will not listen to any, saying, "The Porte cannot have forgotten how much was due to the exhortations of Colonel Rose when the question of the tribute to be raised in Mount Lebanon for the service of the Porte was in agitation; how steadily he discountenanced all proceedings which

think there will be an armed outbreak, certainly not for the present. *The Mountaineers will await the result* of a reference of their complaints to the Sublime Porte."

These complaints were embodied in a memorial, by an assembly convened on the 22nd of May at Ainoub, 800 persons being present, representing all the religions, classes and families of the Lebanon. "The meeting," says Colonel Rose, "was unanimous in favour of the abolition of the Tariff." The petition itself says, "Injurious taxes have lately been imposed upon us, of which the one most important and the most mischievous, is the Tariff." The document is most remarkable, alike as an exposition of the case and an evidence of the unanimity of the people when left to themselves.

THIS PETITION NEVER REACHES THE PORTE.

Colonel Rose (2nd of June, 1841) says of himself and Mr. Moore :—

We felt that it would be the wish of Her Majesty's Government that we should counsel the Pasha in this

would bear the appearance of disrespect for the sovereign authority of the Sultan; how earnestly he laboured to reconcile the contending parties," &c. He then recommends to the Queen that "Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to nominate him to be a Companion of the Order of the Bath." This recompense is granted only when the value of his services is established by the complaints of the Porte. Yet this same Colonel Rose, when afterwards Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, had to be removed by the English Government, in order to render the Russian occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia practicable in 1853.—Note, 1860.

matter, because the present state of the Mountain is chiefly to be attributed to the proposed introduction of the Tariff, which is framed (*sic*) in a Treaty concluded between Her Majesty's Government and the Sublime Porte. * * * Having then agreed to give our advice to the Seraskier, we attentively considered the Petition, and came to the conclusion that it was deficient in three essential qualities, *because*—

1. The Petition states that it is addressed to the Prime Minister of the Sublime Porte, by the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon assembled at Ainoub; and yet, although these inhabitants so assembled were convoked and presided by the Prince of Mount Lebanon, the Emir Beshir, yet their petition was not forwarded through, or by, his Highness, nor *did it receive the sanction of his signature.*

2. The Petition rests on false grounds, because it assumes that the taxes *were demanded* from, whereas they were only *proposed to,* the inhabitants of the Mountain.

3. The language of the petitioners is such as *no subject should use towards his Sovereign;* and above all, towards one who has given so many proofs of his desire to be the best friend, as well as Ruler, of his people.

The two English agents then succeed in getting the Pasha to suppress the petition, and further to write a letter to the Emir, adopting their reasons for declining to forward it. "*The letter, of course, comes from his Excellency as his own act.*" They thus conclude:—

We venture to anticipate *good results* from this mode of proceeding; IT WILL PROBABLY HAVE THE EFFECT OF DIVIDING THE MOUNTAIN.*

* Affairs of Syria, part ii. p. 14.

On the 23rd of July, Colonel Rose, who had stopped the petition of the people, because the taxes were "not demanded from them," goes to the Pasha to dissuade him "from the attempt to collect the Tariff, against which the Mountaineers, with arms in their hands, are united to a man." And further adds that the modification of the Tariff "was to be anticipated, alike from Lord Ponsonby's knowledge of its unpopularity, and from his further knowledge of the promise that had been made, to exempt that province from all taxes during three years, on which it was now intended to enforce the payment of the Tariff."

Lord Ponsonby despatches Mr. Wood to settle the matter: he is armed with two means of negociation: 1. "A considerable sum of money, and a supply of watches and ornaments;" 2. "A discretionary power granted to him by the Sublime Porte to modify the Tariff, the main cause of discontent."

Mr. Wood employed with ability the first means of negociation: as to the second, Colonel Rose says "he did not make the deputies acquainted with his discretionary powers."

Mr. Wood writes: "I must declare *openly* my *inability* to *obtain* other concessions than those already granted." These words are addressed to the Patriarch, who had already, six weeks before, expressed himself in these terms: "If the *Turkish Government* should attempt to enforce the Tariff, *the consequences will be fatal.*" The result, therefore,

of Mr. Wood's mission is to achieve that "good" to which Her Majesty's servants are always looking. He conceals the intention of the Turkish Government to modify the Tariff, and prevents it being modified (as he was himself charged with the commission) and so the pecuniary means, the complementary measure to the modification, being employed alone, become bribes to induce the chiefs to desert the people. What better method to "divide the mountaineers?" The object of Mr. Wood's mission by Lord Ponsonby was the averting of a civil war: he executes it so as to ensure that war.

This occurs on the 1st of October: the insurrection breaks out on the 13th! It has been doubly insured; by the "division of the Mountain," and "the Tariff." The whole system falls to the ground, the Emir (Beshir) is driven away, the fall of the Shaabs opens the way to the Caimacanships, and the mutual exhaustion to the Tariff. It is a singular coincidence, that at this very moment, a new administration comes in, in England, to be instantly overwhelmed with 300 office pages of despatches on the Lebanon. Poor Lord Aberdeen!

There is in each of the proceedings of England, something that may be called its peculiarity. The peculiarity in this instance is, that we have two Consuls: each has his scheme; each looks with horror at the scheme of the other, warns his superiors that it must plunge the country in bloodshed and ruin, and attributes it to the Turkish Govern-

ment. The scheme of each succeeds against the opposition of the other; the remonstrance of each fails against the scheme of the other. Consul Wood goes on charging the Turkish Government with perfidy, in devising the scheme of the Caimacamships; Consul Rose goes on charging it with perfidy, for enforcing the Tariff. Both are kept in ignorance that the scheme which they oppose is that of their own Government, and are left severally to expound to the people, the villany of the Porte in having devised it. How surprised they must be when they read the Blue Book; for at least Consul Wood and Consul Rose will read the Blue Book.

"With such measure as ye mete, the same shall be meted unto you again." When that prediction is in our respect accomplished, there will not be a man throughout the land able to say "this is a righteous judgment." They will see in what happens to them then, no more than what they now see in what they do to others—the work of the stars.

This is the testimony of the Blue Books: First, the Five Powers are engaged in convulsing the country; Secondly, any attempt to restore tranquillity involves a struggle with the Five Powers; Thirdly, the means by which such a struggle may be successful, or even exist is, by inducing the people to represent their grievances with effect and unanimity.

Our proceedings in the Lebanon are to us simple and natural, in consequence of the progress we have

made in civilization; they appear strange and unnatural to this people, because they have not yet attained to the distinction between public and private morality. Not having as yet learnt that public affairs are only contrivances to afford amusement to the public, they are at a loss to comprehend how such acts remain beneath the notice of the eminent and practical men who adorn and instruct Europe in morals and philanthropy.

Unless the English had found some section of the people to patronize, none of these operations could have been carried on; and yet to a common mind there was no section available. The French could patronize the Maronites as Ultramontanes; the Russians the Greeks as Starovirtze; the Chinese could alone patronize the Druzes, as heterodox Buddhists. On what twig the English dove of peace could perch did not appear, and yet the patronage could begin only on religious grounds. In this, therefore, the source of it will be sought; there must have been religious sympathy. In looking closer into the matter a connection may be found. An English religious writer, who never heard of the Druzes, used these words: "England is divided into Infidelity and Fanaticism;"* that is to say, that some profess the faith of infidelity, and some the faith of fanaticism; whereas, amongst the Druzes, the two faiths are combined in each. It matters not whether the characters really apply to the Druzes,

* Bosanquet, "Perils of the Nation."

the supposition is enough for the association, and failing this there is nothing else to account for it. We could not take grounds as supporting their independence, for two reasons. First, that they do not want our help; secondly, that England does not support independence in any people. If such were her disposition, the Circassians afford her a field, but no English consulate spreads its benign influence from Anapa.

One concluding observation suggests itself. It has been a labour of care and anxiety to find and form Woods and Stratford Cannings, Moores and Roses. Such men were rare incidents in the nation. But the time will come when they will not be rare incidents. The whole British nation cannot be Ambassadors, Consuls, and Companions of the Bath, yet the whole British nation will become Woods and Cannings, Moores and Roses. Then some Sheik Beshir, Consul at Manchester, in furnishing his quota to a Turkish Blue Book on the "rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics and Dissenters of Great Britain," may have the regret to express himself in these terms:—

"I must consider the moral condition of England as very low."*

* Reply of Mr. Moore in Dr. Bowring's Report.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHRISTIANITY OF THE LEBANON.

THE scheme above detailed rests entirely on the maxim, that a *Mussulman shall not rule in this Province of the Sultan.* This maxim has been established as a corollary to another; namely, that the Lebanon is the *stronghold of Christianity in the East.* The argument is thus stated:

I know of no individual in this country who unites the qualities requisite for the office of a Prince of Mount Lebanon. If he is a Maronite, the Druses will not bear his rule, and if he is a Druse, he will not be tolerated by the Maronites, *and it would not be desirable that a Mahometan Prince should rule over a country which is the stronghold of Christianity in the East.**

Again:

The very peculiar circumstances of the Mountain population, whose industry, poverty, and impatience of restraint are alike known to all Europe, and amongst whom the religion of Christ has found for ages a precarious, yet noble asylum, *towards which the hopes of the good and the devout of more than one country* have of late been turned with peculiar zeal.†

* Colonel Rose to Lord Aberdeen. Syrian Papers, Part II. p. 108.

† Sir S. Canning to Lord Aberdeen. Syrian Papers, Part I. p. 53.

Here is the introduction of an international maxim alarming to the world; and peculiarly terrible in its application to Great Britain. The Maltese are Maronites, and France is their protector. The Canadians are Roman Catholics; so are the Irish. The Ionians are Greeks, and Russia is their Protector. The Cingalese are Buddhists, and China is their Protector. Thirty millions of Indians are Mussulmans, and the Sultan is their Protector. The Hindus will find a Protector, as cognate as are the English to the Druzes. This maxim admitted, the human race becomes a society of wild beasts, preying upon each other, not by satiable, but by insatiable lusts.

The Christianity put forward for such ends by the English Government, is not the established religion of Great Britain; the patronage afforded by that Government is at this very time, to the rival sect of this so-called "Christianity."

This Christianity is not a germ planted in the East by England, or by the other Powers. It has been found there, existing under the Turkish sway; and peaceably existing up to the moment of their interference.

Now let us see what this Christianity is. The Blue Books contain a specimen.

"The Catholic Bishop of Zachlé, to the Christians of the same place.

"We have exceedingly and extremely praised

your activity, but you have been backward in your not burning the village of Merepté. The proper mode was to have burnt it. Hereafter, take good care, when you obtain a victory, turn not back from burning and destroying to the end. Only, we command you, beloved children and honoured brethren, to abstain from touching the females. But everything else, such as burning, murdering, plundering, you can do, and do not spare anything. . . . . Continue your prayers and confessions, for this is a holy war."*

Sir Stratford Canning may not err in saying that "the good and devout of many countries" have been turned to such Christianity with "peculiar zeal," and those countries also call themselves Christians. It is an awful charge to make, but Sir Stratford Canning is justified in making it. I quote the document, not in reprobation of the Maronites, but of those who have made the Maronites what they now are. For 800 years religious rivalry, and religious rancour were unknown; these have been introduced by the European Governments, not through fanaticism, but putting on the mask of fanaticism to veil their designs.

When the letter of the Maronite Bishop was transmitted by Colonel Rose to Lord Aberdeen, it gave rise to no comment, not a word in reprobation, and no induction as to the task of the rulers of such

* Syrian Papers, Part II. p. 113.

a people. It is in the very letter transmitting it, that the remarkable words "instinctive conclusion" occur. This "instinctive conclusion" being, that the acts of the Turkish Government spring from a design to oppress the Maronites!.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PUBLIC MEETING.

Beyrout, May 2nd.—I HAD been asked, last night, if I would attend a meeting of the chief merchants of the different tribes, to report to them what I had been saying to several by themselves, respecting their trade. I consented to do so. To-day, I was sent for about 3 P. M. I was conducted up a great many flights of stairs, to a sort of barn, which had been fitted all round with rich sofas for the occasion, and a goodly array of nargillés and pipes. Soldiers were posted at the door to give, I suppose, formality to the assembly. I found a large party assembled round the room, the Mussulmans occupying the upper part, the Rayahs the sides. They wished me to plunge at once in *media res*, and I had some difficulty in making them apprehend that I had nothing to say; that they had invited me, and I had come, and unless they had some question to put to me, I must go away again. I was then asked if I thought it possible that the Porte would relax the heavy duties, and if so, what steps they could take to promote that object? Before, however, we got into the subject, a preliminary question was raised: they said they had long suffered from this new tax,

but had never remonstrated against it, conceiving that, being settled with foreign Powers, their Government had no power to grant them relief. This I soon disposed of by citing the instances in which the Porte had already relaxed these duties, viz., at Aleppo for manufactured silks, reduced to 7 per cent.; at Constantinople for carpets, on which the duty is wholly remitted; in Roumelia, on Valonea, where it has been reduced 25 per cent. Also, that the treaty gave to Turkey the faculty of exacting 12 per cent. on foreign trade, instead of 3; but Turkey was not on that account forced to take this larger sum: and finally, that the 12 per cent of the treaty was for goods exported to Europe, whilst that sum had been imposed on all their internal traffic. These reasons were admitted as conclusive, and they signalized several monstrosities such as this. Foreign sugar imported at Beyrout pays three per cent.; passing into the interior it pays two per cent. more. The people have the habit of crushing it, and ramming it into bottles. Oh, says the customer, it has changed its nature; it is now a native manufacture, and must pay twelve per cent. So cloth, by being made into clothes changes its nature, and becomes native manufacture. The wearer is stopped at the gate and charged twelve per cent. for what he wears on his back; so leather, when made into shoes, iron made into nails, &c.

The following are the heads of my answers to their questions:—You may apply to the Porte for

this change on two grounds. 1st. The general interests of the country. 2ndly. The peculiar rights of Syria. You can make out in regard to the first the most triumphant case ever submitted to a Government; then put that aside, and supposing the treaty to be as beneficial as it is injurious, you can make out for Syria an irrefragable case for exemption from its operation.

In regard to the first point I shewed, first, That to exact more than five per cent. was contrary to the fundamental and religious laws of the empire. 2nd, That it was an imitation of those fiscal regulations of Europe which were the origin of its present convulsions; but that it was a mistaken imitation—in Europe we tax importation, but leave exportation free. That the treaty destroys, by the distinction, at once the sale of raw produce, and the manufacture of native goods. 3rd, That the Turkish Government draws its revenue from the land, of which this treaty destroys the value. That the Government, receiving its taxes in kind, prohibited the sale, by this *tax on its own property*. I illustrated these positions by what had occurred in Roumelia, in 1846. The price of grain was there about 45 piastres the kilo. The duty carries it above 50, which brings it just over the price, with charges, at Odessa. In that year the prices rose to 80 and 100, so that the 12 per cent. was virtually overpassed. Immediately the grain poured on all the ports. From the walls of Varna might be seen double strings of waggons

along the plain to the very horizon, night and day, week after week, month after month, uninterrupted; the one coming full, the other departing empty. In ten months about 2000 vessels were laden, 20,000,000 of kilos exported, and above £10,000,000 introduced into the country.

It was at once admitted by all, that, with the tranquillity at present enjoyed, and especially under the operation of the new firman, granting its full possession to the occupiers of land, and reducing the charges, if it were not for the 12 per cent., thousands of vessels would be lading with grain on its coasts, and that the trade with oil, sesame, and all other products, would greatly increase. Beyrout, in ten years, they said, would rival Marseilles.

A difficulty then arose to whether the Porte would sacrifice for the moment, its revenue. I was able to answer that that difficulty was already provided for; as one of the first persons in the country was ready to take the customs at the actual rate, if the Government would grant them for five years, and reduce the rates to 5 per cent.

The right of Syria to exclusion from the operation of the treaty. This I placed on two grounds. 1. The treaty stipulated the additional nine per cent. as an equivalent for monopolies and internal duties: here there was no equivalent. In Syria there were no internal duties, and no monopolies, and consequently there was no claim for the additional nine per cent. The English merchants had already urged this right,

and even the English Government, which had imposed the treaty, did not pretend that the claim was groundless; it merely answered—"monopolies may be imposed some day." When Syria was restored to the Porte, the Sultan bound himself to reduce the taxes one third; and consequently the Miri and the Firdeh had been so reduced. The twelve per cent. ought equally to have been reduced, had it existed, but it was not then in operation. The customs duties were not reduced, only because they were so trivial. That on silk amounting to but 20 paras the oke (or less than one farthing the pound), immediately afterwards the new duties were introduced, laying on silk instead of 20 paras, 14 piastres and 16 paras, or increasing the duty 60-fold. Tobacco, in like manner, was charged 50, 100, and even up to 1000 per cent. The firman of the Sultan was, therefore, an absolute bar to the introduction of the tariff for Syria, and gave to that province a special right to appeal against it, which no other province could claim; so that the Porte in granting to them this concession, was not bound to grant it to the rest of the empire; though it was clear that the like favour would be granted to the whole, if they succeeded in making the Porte understand the evil inflicted on the people and on the treasury. These two points, and especially the last, were a new light to them: they now passed to expressions of sanguine confidence. Before the evil was felt, the idea of struggling against it did not exist, conceiving it to be irremediable. It

now seemed to appear to them that the thing was done, and I had to apprehend their confidence as much as before I did their despondency. I had, therefore, to tell them that not a single individual connected with the Turkish Government had the remotest idea on the subject: they had got the notion that they had overreached England by getting twelve instead of three per cent., and in a word, that it had cost me four months' labour with Emin Effendi before getting him to see the matter in this light, as he had himself told one of them the night before. They now asked what measures they ought to take. I explained to them that it was an evil imported from Europe, and they must adopt the means which we had invented to combat the like: that they, being the heads of the various communities should now appoint a committee of three to draw up their petition; then have another meeting like the present to consider it; then call a meeting of the whole community, under the Pines or elsewhere; then send round the petition in separate sheets for signature; then despatch envoys to Damascus, Aleppo, and the principal towns, to do the same; and, finally, send up a deputation to Constantinople, the bearers of the united appeal of the whole of Syria. The plan was adopted by acclamation, and I withdrew amid benedictions.

It being known that I was to sail by the French steamer in two days, some of them came afterwards to represent that they could not venture on begin-

ning unless I promised to stay for the following packet; and, considering that I might labour for ten years in England without being able to effect the tenth part of the benefit for the trade of England that this change would bring, I consented to remain the ten days required; the more so that the measures taking in the Lebanon were actually paralysed by the knowledge of my departure, and might be ultimately frustrated if not brought into shape before I left.

During this conversation, there was an incidental but interesting allusion to the Megilis. One of them quoted these bodies as instance of the disposition of the Porte to do everything beneficial for the people. I accepted the instance as regards intention, but rejected it as regards effect. These bodies, in evincing the good intentions, shewed the incapacity of the Porte; for mixing them up in the administration of the country, they were a cloak to abuse, not a check upon it. The opinion was re-echoed by all; nor did two members of the body who were present dissent. I told them that a meeting such as this was worth a thousand Megilis, independently of the object for which they were assembled, and that they were now taking the first step towards affording to the Porte what it sought and required for the Government of the country, and that was the help of the people.

On arriving in the country I perceived three prevailing evils; the farming of the public lands, the

"System of the Lebanon," and the prohibitory duties. These evils were themselves consequences of the mutual misjudgment and distrust of people and Government. I now close these remarks, after having to announce a measure of the Porte which puts an end to the first, and a movement commenced among the people with the probable consequence of removing the other two. Henceforth I trust that foreign intrigue, if not banished from the land will be mitigated. I feel the irresistible satisfaction that attends the successful issue of a course adopted with care, pursued undeviatingly and through difficulties and finally crowned with success; for whether or not the last two points will be obtained at once, at least this is obtained—that the people of this country entertain altered sentiments towards a sovereign who has shewn himself not slow to respond to kindness; and last, though not least, it is something to labour for a people who do not reply by contempt and calumny.

CATASTROPHE.

In the foregoing Diary, the march of a Drama is associated with the incidents of a journey. Had it extended but to one day later, the Catastrophe, from fortunate would have changed to unfortunate. All that appeared accomplished on the 2nd of May was reversed on the 3rd. The cry of the people of Syria, about to be articulated, was stifled in its throat, by the sudden revulsion of the Pasha, all whose maleficent powers revived when obeying a foreign and inimical interest. The intimation to me of the change was not in words. No explanation was offered, no wavering exhibited, no reasons of State alleged. A person employed by me, and placed at my disposal by the Pasha himself, was suddenly imprisoned, and by the act and with the velocity of a telegraphic communication, the hearts of all were smitten with terror, their hands fell powerless, and those who had been most active and most zealous dispersed and hid themselves. The Pasha also hid himself; his doors were closed and barricaded against me, as if I had been a foreign invasion. There remained nothing further for me to do than to embark, and endeavour from Constantinople to restore the operation broken in the Lebanon.

Cruising, shortly afterwards, in the Archipelago, I encountered the squadron which bore the Sultan. Receiving an intimation that His Highness would receive me at Scio, I proceeded thither, and being accompanied into his tent by three of the Ministers of the Porte, and being, at the close of the audience, about to withdraw, one of those Ministers said to me, "Now is the moment for the Lebanon." I consequently stated the case, and afterwards received an invitation to return with him to Constantinople, in order that continuation should be given to the matters opened at this audience.

In communications with the Ministers of the Porte at that capital, I had to listen to no single expression intimating either doubt or irresolution. They were filled with surprise and gladness at the prospect of escape through the dispositions of the people from the dangers which they saw to be impending over the Empire from that quarter. In terms not less ambiguous, and still more energetic, was conveyed their reprobation of the conduct of Vamic Pasha; which conduct was at once attributed to that sole motor of every intrigue, and source of every danger—the patronage of Foreign Powers, always ready for a faithless administrator, and the persecution of Foreign Powers, ever suspended over the head of an upright servant of the Sultan.

A council on the affairs of Syria was held, the results of which, it was intimated to me, were in the same sense. I was requested to find some trust-

worthy friend to send to Syria, in order to ascertain really the dispositions of the people, and to watch events. I was so fortunate as to meet at Constantinople a gentleman who undertook this office, and whose report will be found subjoined.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, I doubted the possibility of the maintenance by the Porte of the resolution it had formed, so long as its action was hampered, and its sense of independence crushed, by the presence of the Russian Army of Occupation in the Danubian Provinces, under the Treaty of the previous year. It was, therefore, to the removal of this army that my attention was, if not exclusively, principally directed. After two months of unceasing efforts by day and night, this was at last effected, and the Porte, in the intoxication of its delight, dared not to look too closely at the terms of the arrangement, so that the door was left ajar for their return in June, 1853, without the countervailing presence of a Turkish force. In this transaction the Lebanon was lost sight of, and I was prevented from resuming it, as upon the settlement for the evacuation of the province, the Porte requested me instantly to leave Constantinople, that they might be relieved from the recriminations entailed upon them by my presence. In fact, the Porte had sacrificed what might have been done in the Lebanon, as against the freedom they expected to obtain on the Danube.

Possessed of the knowledge of these criminal and

dangerous proceedings in the Lebanon, it was incumbent upon me to use every means to expose and counteract them. If the laws require such effort in case of danger to the life of a single individual, how much more is it incumbent, when the property, the liberties, and the lives of millions, as in this case, are involved. To appeal to the European public was useless; it would not listen: if it did listen, it could not comprehend; if it listened and comprehended, what could it do? To appeal to the English Government was useless; it knew but too well what it was about. Indeed, during these operations I had been in the habit of detailed correspondence with two members of the then Cabinet, whose replies evinced a perfect concurrence with me, in that in which I was engaged; this concurrence, not in the slightest degree affecting the operations of that Cabinet in the East.

Shortly afterwards, a new Administration came in. Hope reviving, I made another attempt. The matter was again laid before members of the Administration, and finally the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Malmesbury, afforded me the time and the attention requisite for the exposition of the case, with the Blue Books for confirmation. I feel myself justified in stating, that Lord Malmesbury did not withhold his concurrence from the allegations then made: not only by reason of his not adducing objections, but furthermore by his calling upon me for an explanation of that, which on the

face of it appeared inexplicable. His words were (they have been consigned in a subsequent correspondence), "Can you explain to me the ulterior objects of England, for such acts there must have been an ulterior object?"

Had I had the like opportunity with Lord Aberdeen, when he came into office in 1841, he might probably have put to me a similar question. No Foreign Minister, in coming into office, has the least conception of what the policy of England is; and it is because England's Ministers know nothing of her policy, that it is possible to predict with certainty, what, in any given case, she will do. So far back as the year 1835, in pointing out to the Duke of Wellington, the invariable injury to Great Britain, as the result of a system pursued by Great Britain, His Grace replied, "England has no system, and if it had, and however noxious it might be, it would not matter. Nothing has been well done by England, save by an act of insubordination." The period of insubordination has now passed by; that is to say, insubordination by instruction, takes its place amongst the elements of systematic deception.

Lord Malmesbury requested me to reduce to writing the case I had verbally stated to him. On the fall of that Administration from office, without having done anything for the Lebanon, I printed the Memoir. It will thus be seen that I left no means untried to avert the consequences, and to exonerate myself from criminal connivance.

Subjoined is an extract from the Report from the Lebanon, to which I have already referred.

"*Beyrout, September 24th,* 1850. — I MUST give you an account of my interview with the Archbishop. I went to his house accompanied by the Padre Giorgio, the same who acted as interpreter for you. He received me very well, and after he had examined my credentials, and subjugated me to the cleverest cross-examination I ever heard, regarding my own person, I mentioned the subject of my visit, and to remove all further suspicion, I said, 'I will now recount to you all that has passed since Mr. Urquhart left Syria, ready to answer all questions which you may put to me, if I do not make the matter sufficiently clear.' I began with the letter of Ali Pasha, mentioned your interview with the Sultan at Scio, and the consequent invitation to go to Constantinople, the various communications you had had with the Ministers; finally, the Council held on the affairs of Syria, and the promised reprimand to the Pasha. I added that I had come to this country to see if things were still as you had left them, with explicit directions to follow in all things his advice, should I find him in the same mind as before. All this was attentively listened to; I dwelt upon all the points that I thought likely to make him feel the importance of the moment, when you are at Constantinople, ready to second any efforts made here.

"After I had done, he said, 'As a Christian, and a priest, I answer you,' laying his hand on his heart. 'When Daoud Bey first opened his views to me, I represented the difficulties that stood in the way. But all these he set aside, arguing that the will alone was required to make the execution easy. Still, however, I refused to do anything until I had received the assurance of the Pasha's approval from his own mouth, as well as that of Emin Effendi. This was not alone for my own justification, but also because I knew that without it, I could not bring the Druze chiefs to concur in anything.' From the Pasha I heard solemn words of approval, laying his hand upon his heart, as he spoke them. I then went to Sheik Hussein Talhouk, and Sheik Nasif Abou Nicket. They also wished to have the Pasha's word, and Sheik Hussein received it. They returned to their country, and began to sound many people, when suddenly they heard that the Pasha had completely changed; and then they not only desisted, but hearing that he had quarrelled with Daoud Bey, hid themselves. The matter was never very easy, now it is more difficult.' The Archbishop added, 'I answer you with all sincerity and freedom, but if you go to the others, you will not receive from them plain words. They fear, but, for my part, I am not afraid, but unless the Pasha changes, or is changed, I can do nothing more. I am still as much persuaded as ever that a Mussulman Prince can alone

rule the Mountain; but all I can do is to assist the Government of the Porte by every means in my power, should it make clear its wishes.'

"Then came the chapter of griefs. We hear that Daoud Bey is at Constantinople, and yet the Pasha from Ferik is made Muchir, with a present of 300 purses. It is thus that his quarrel with Daoud Bey has ended. The people heard long ago of the letter to Ali Pasha and the accusation against Vamic, of being concerned in the Customs. They say the accusation was examined and found to be without grounds. He then said he had heard of your intimacy at Constantinople with Colonel Rose, and how you were everywhere together. I said this was untrue. That you had met him once or twice accidentally, and that the only time you had a long conversation with him, was in the Arsenal, when you talked of machines and geology.

"I asked him how it was that every one seemed prepared for a change; whether he had spoken about the matter, for I have hardly seen a person here who has not said more or less, indicating the hope of a new order of things. He answered, No; but that all are discontented with things as they are.—This conversation continued for four hours, interrupted only by dinner, which lasted but a short time, as the Archbishop did not himself partake.

"I am going, as soon as I am well enough to travel, to see Emin Effendi, when I shall tell him the substance of my conversation with the Arch-

bishop. I have had a long conversation with the Vakil of the Patriarch and of the Caimacan. He is quite prepared to join in any movement, likely to procure one Governor, and that a Mussulman, for the Mountain.

"There have come letters from Constantinople to Emin Effendi, not exactly blaming him for what he has done, but saying that complaints have been made by *one of the Ambassadors*, of his stirring up the people to ask for a Turkish Governor, which, the letter continues, they are sure must, unless from some grave necessity, from his well-known prudence, be untrue. Since this has come the confirmation of a proposal to erect a mixed Megilis, to assist Emin Effendi in carrying out the Messaa. Colonel Rose wrote a very insolent letter to the Pasha, complaining of this, as a violation of the Constitution, and Emir Hydar refuses his assent.

"I heard here a curious fact, illustrative of the working of the present system. The entire produce of the south of Asia Minor is sent by land to Samsoun for exportation, in consequence of the facilities afforded by the farmers of the Customs at that port."

From the period of my quitting Syria, I have not read a line of what has been published in Newspapers or printed in Blue Books respecting the Lebanon, until this very moment. I have now read two passages; one of these is about the seizure of a

flock of goats by the French because they were Druze goats, which proved to be joint-stock, Maronite and Druze. If human ingenuity could have devised *a reductio ad absurdum* of the operations of the "Five" great European Powers, he would have required a vivid imagination to arrive at an invention like this. But while the public is paralyzed before such a result, because of its ridicule and monstrosity, Governments are only obtaining what they work for. That they knew that the two people were so intimately interwoven that they could not be separated is shewn by a proposal of Colonel Rose. Referring to a former communication, he says, on the 3rd of June, 1845: "I earnestly recommended last year, emigration of the Christians to the Christian country, and *vice versa*."* Imagine, in the parallel proposal for the pacification of Ireland by the establishment of a Protestant and Roman Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, the self-love of the foreign schemers who devised it, earnestly recommending in the interest of its success, that the Protestants and Catholics should be made reciprocally to emigrate!

The other passage is: "General Beaufort de Hautpool has militarily occupied Deir el Cammar, after establishing there a municipality."

The recollection fell upon me as a blow, of my having, in November 1849, in this very Deir el Cammar, announced to them, that the day was not distant, when they would be treated as another

* Syrian Papers, Part ii. 1843-4-5, p. 170.

Algeria; and this too at a moment when the French Government had no more conception of what it would do, than the people had of what they were about to suffer. The very agent of France, when I said to him the same thing, answered me, "Do you take us for lunatics?"

In conclusion I have to remark, that whereas formerly, evil designs had to be carefully concealed until they were executed, they are now published beforehand in Blue Books.

THE END.

G. NORMAN, PRINTER, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

00085744

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016